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WESTERN MANIPULATIONS IN AFRICA ANALYZED

Sofia NOVO VREME in Bulgarian No 8, Aug 79 pp 110-123

[Article by Lyubomir Bozhilov: "The African Policy of Imperialism"]

[Text] In the past two decades the African continent has been the arena of tempestuous revolutionary processes which are changing its political, economic and social aspect. After rejecting the yoke of colonialism, the African peoples are now focusing their efforts on social progress and on gaining economic "decolonialization," i.e., freedom from economic dependence on the capitalist countries, the establishment of equal economic relations with them, and putting an end to the predatory exploitation of natural and human resources on the continent by the imperialist monopolies.

The solution of this problem is inseparably linked with the struggle for the social liberation of the people's masses. The polarization of political forces is growing on the African continent. The influence of socialist ideas is rising and so is the role of the revolutionary democrats who are struggling for the implementation of profound socioeconomic changes.

The historical victories achieved in this struggle are closely linked with the continuing change in the ratio of forces in the world in favor of peace and socialism, the assertion of the principles of peaceful coexistence, the selfless aid and support which the members of the socialist comity, the USSR above all, continue to render to the African peoples, and the growing unity between the national liberation movement and the members of this comity. "The unity of action developed between the forces of socialism and the national-liberation movements in the course of the struggle against colonialism and for freedom and independence has become today a particularly important factor in global development and progress."

With a view to preserving their economic, political, and strategic interests in Africa, the imperialist countries, headed by the United States, do not choose their weapons in their struggle against the progressive trends on the continent. Of late this is particularly clearly manifested: imperialism is coordinating its efforts within NATO in order to mount a counterattack, divide the national liberation forces, isolate them from the socialist

countries and the other progressive forces in the world, retain the continent within the capitalist orbit, and resolve the problem of its long-lasting domination of Africa. "The policy of imperialism, neocolonialism, and all forms of oppression and exploitation," emphasized the concluding document of the Berlin Conference of European Communist and Workers Parties, "remain the principal threat to the peace, independence, and equality of the nations."²

Over 30 percent of the world reserves of mineral resources are found on the African continent. The capitalist world receives from Africa 90 percent of its diamonds, 80 percent of its cobalt, 80 percent of its gold, 62 percent³ of its platinum, 33 percent of its phosphate, and 27 percent of its copper. The African continent enables it to meet a large percentage of its requirements for uranium, petroleum, coffee, cocoa, etc. Africa is rich in deposits of rare metals which are of particular importance to the military-industrial monopolies. Foreign capital investments in Africa are as high as \$25 billion, while monopoly profits average 18 percent. Between 1950 and 1975 the American monopolies alone transferred from Africa to countries on the outside profits totaling \$5.5 billion, whereas U.S. capital investments within the African economy within the same period totaled \$2 billion 250 million.⁴

The extraction of tremendous profits from the exploitation of the continent's natural and manpower resources, as well as the attempts to keep the African countries within the economic and political orbit of capitalism were, and remain the basic motive forces guiding imperialist African policy. The nature of U.S. activities in Africa, pointed out Henry Winston, national chairman of the Communist Party of the U.S., "consists, as in the past, of ensuring the monopolies the possibility to earn tremendous profits through the suppression and exploitation of the peoples of Africa and the plundering of its incalculable riches."⁵

The monopolies of the Common Market countries are also particularly interested in African resources. (The share of imports of most important types of raw material from this continent by England, France, and the FRG ranges from 30 to 90 percent.) It is determined not only by the great dependence of the Western European economy on the import of raw materials but the relative closeness of African sources to Europe. This considerably raises the competitiveness of Western European goods on international markets.

The imperialist countries have always opposed the struggle waged by the African peoples for national independence, for placing under their sovereignty the resources of the continent, and their aspiration to follow a path of independent political and economic development. "The dependence of the inter-linked economies of the United States and Europe on imports of minerals from Africa," wrote LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, "has always favored a policy of interference."⁶ Their policy became particularly incisive with the advent of the raw material and energy crises in the capitalist world.

However, changes occurred and are occurring in Africa threatening the interests of Western monopolies and strongly undermining the influence of the imperialist countries on the continent and the range of their neo-colonialist exploitation. Under the strikes of the national-liberation movement in Africa colonialism crumbled in its classical forms. "In the first half of the 1970's," the materials of the 25th CPSU Congress point out, "the final stage of the breakdown of the colonial system developed on that continent." Tens of independent countries replaced the few colonial empires. The breakdown of the colonial system was yet another proof of the further intensification of the general crisis of capitalism and the failure of its colonial policy.

The struggle of the peoples on the continent did not stop with the elimination of colonialism. On the contrary, it entered with even greater confidence its higher stage--the stage of the struggle for gaining economic independence as a prerequisite for true national independence. True political independence can be achieved only after reaching economic independence, for, as V. I. Lenin emphasized, "Economic liberation is... precisely the main one."⁸ With growing persistence the African countries are struggling for the establishment of a new economic order in the world, and for the restructuring of inequitable economic relations imposed upon them by the capitalist countries. Determining that the Western monopolies are the main hindrance to their economic progress, a number of African countries are mounting an offensive against their activities to one or another extent. In countries such as Algeria, Libya, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Madagascar, and others, foreign property was nationalized. In many others, monopoly activities were placed under state control. "In terms of the scale of nationalized foreign property Africa assumed a leading position among the other areas of the developing world."

The role of the independent African countries in international life is growing. This is confirmed by their active participation in the work of the United Nations and the other international forums and in the movement of nonaligned countries where most of them stand on anti-imperialist positions. They are making their contribution to the struggle for the peace and security among nations. "In the liberated countries," said the message of greetings of L. I. Brezhnev addressed to the states and peoples of Africa on the occasion of African Liberation Day, "despite all difficulties, major positive changes are taking place in domestic life and foreign policy. Ever more energetically the young countries are trying to strengthen their independence, raise the standards of the social, economic, and cultural development of the peoples, and protect their legitimate political and economic rights in the struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism."¹⁰

The positions of the confronting class forces and the social content of the struggle waged by the African peoples are becoming ever more apparent in the new stage of the national-liberation revolution. Social contradictions are increasing on the basis of the intensifying socioclass stratification: Currently 17 percent of the continent's population earns 70 percent of the

national income.¹¹ The ideological demarcation among political currents is growing as well. Whereas the right wing of the political circles is becoming ever more closely linked with imperialism and promotes its neocolonial policy, the left wing is gradually adopting the ideas of scientific socialism.

The African communists are in the vanguard of the struggle against imperialism and for the social liberation of the people's masses (Africa has 10 communist parties) together with the countries whose peoples rejected capitalism as a historical future for their socioeconomic development and chose a socialist orientation. This revolutionary process is developing in width and in depth. In the first half of the 1970's alone, this path was chosen by the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Benin, and Madagascar. Today African countries with a socialist orientation account for 30 percent of the continent's territory and about 25 percent of its population.¹²

In these countries the national-liberation revolution developed into a national democratic revolution. The latter is aimed not only at the strengthening of national independence but gives priority to the social liberation of the people's masses and the elimination of feudal and capitalist exploitation relations with a view to creating the necessary prerequisites for undertaking the building of socialism in the future. Their successful progress is based on the developing state sector in the economy, the implementation of radical agrarian reforms, and the democratization of social life through the involvement of the people's masses in the management of the country. The revolutionary process is not the same for all countries with a socialist orientation. The different conditions under which revolutionary changes take place, the different ratio of forces within the revolutionary-democratic power bloc, and the different attitude of the ruling circles toward scientific socialism and the role of the working class predetermine the variety of methods, means, pace, and depth of the changes being made in the individual countries.

In recent years (1970-1975) the people's republic of the Congo, Benin, and Ethiopia, among others, proclaimed the basis of ideological and practical orientation in all social life. These countries have built or are in the process of building vanguard parties based on Marxism-Leninism. The dissemination of the ideas of scientific socialism in Africa and the ever closer connections between the ideas of revolutionary democracy and scientific socialism are a qualitatively new aspect in the development of the revolutionary process on the continent.

The further growth of socialist oriented countries is also manifested in their foreign political orientation. They pursue a systematically anti-imperialist and antimonopoly policy and are strengthening their ties with the countries of the socialist camp.

The substantial economic and strategic interests of imperialism in southern Africa are threatened as well. Never before have the racist systems experienced such pressure, both internal and external. The progressive national liberation movement in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa do not conceal that the objective of their struggle is neither the gaining of imaginary national independence and the establishment of puppet neocolonial governments which will defend the interests of the Western monopolies, nor the replacing of white exploiters with black, but the making of a revolution which will take these countries to a democratic way of development.

The Western imperialist countries are also greatly concerned with the influence and prestige of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries which are growing with every passing year among the African peoples, and the expanding political and economic ties between the countries of real socialism and independent Africa. That is why, in recent years, the West has been seeking ways and means to maintain its positions in Africa. It has formulated "new plans" for action which can be described only as plans for a neocolonialist counterattack. In order to regain lost grounds, the imperialist countries are intensifying their subjective activities against the national-liberation movement and progressive countries in Africa and, above all, against those with a socialist orientation. They are opposing the attempts of the African peoples which are still in a state of neocolonial dependence on the former metropoles to overthrow the ruling proimperialist systems.

Of late imperialism has been using a great variety of means and acting in several directions to turn back the revolutionary process and change the ratio of forces to its benefit. In order to maintain the neocolonial enslavement of the continent by the West, it is imposing unequal economic relations and exerting economic pressure. It is strengthening the racist regimes in the southern part of the continent as the bastions of imperialism in Africa. It is encouraging the expansionistic aspirations of the Israeli Zionists, and strengthening its ties with the reactionary proimperialist forces and systems, actively using them in the struggle against the progressive classes. Its propaganda centers are engaged in extensive ideological subversions aimed at destabilizing the countries with a socialist orientation and discrediting the policies pursued by the USSR and the members of the socialist comity. Its secret services are organizing coups, physically liquidating noted progressive African political leaders, and recruiting mercenaries. They promote territorial disputes, separatist trends, and ethnic and religious differences. The recent events in Zaïre, however, were yet one more proof that the imperialist countries have not abandoned direct military intervention in the domestic affairs of the African countries as a means for the assertion of their interests. Trying to adapt to concrete reality, imperialism is giving priority to one or several of these directions in its activities on the continent.

Because of its leading position in the capitalist world and as the main economic, military, diplomatic, and ideological support of the world capitalist

system, the United States is the main and the coordinating force in the efforts to mount an offensive in Africa. "The United States," stated the PRAVDA article entitled "On Current U.S. Policy," "has become the main inspiration of the new colonialism in Africa--the policy of military interventions and open interference in the affairs of African states, and the crushing of the national-liberation movement."¹³

The western countries use the economic difficulties of the African countries, inherited from the colonial epoch, to impose upon them the type of socio-economic development which would be consistent with their imperialist interests. The granting of loans and the investment of capitals, presented as aid, takes place only under specific circumstances and is strictly differentiated by country. Thus, for example, according to R. MacNamara, chairman of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, in order to obtain loans the African countries must "select the type of projects which may be politically unpopular as well," and prove their "readiness to listen to the recommendations of foreign experts and to implement them."¹⁴

As the result of the "open door" policy pursued by the present Egyptian leadership, Egypt's foreign debt has reached the huge total of \$12 billion. Zaire is an eloquent example of the results of such policy. In the 1960's the imperialist countries did everything possible to put in power a neo-colonial government in that country and direct its development in the interest of their monopolies. The results to the people of Zaire have been deplorable. Even though Zaire is one of the biggest African countries and, perhaps, one of the richest in minerals, the country's foreign debt has reached \$4 billion. The payment of interest on such loans alone takes about 20 percent of the income from exports. Inflation is growing rapidly by about 75 percent annually. The already low living standard of the people is steadily declining. These are the reasons for the two consecutive uprisings of the population in Shaba, the richest province, within less than 18 months. Following the occupation of Shaba by NATO, the people of Zaire experienced yet another severe trial: the neocolonial presence of imperialism in the country was strengthened. Its economy fell under even stronger Western control. The decision to grant aid to Zaire totaling \$100 million was passed at the meeting of the main capitalist countries, held in Brussels in 1978. In exchange, however, Zaire agreed that a foreign administrator be appointed to control the activities of the Ministry of Finance and that a representative of the International Monetary Fund control the work of the Bank of Zaire. "In fact," L'HUMANITE wrote, "the administration and the Zaire authorities dealing with the country's economy will be put under foreign supervision."¹⁵ Yet, the African peoples know from personal experience that such supervision is synonymous with colonialism. Zaire surrendered to the imperialist countries but the pledge to aid is yet to be granted. "Five months after the first Brussels conference," wrote the Belgium newspaper LE SOIR bitterly, "we must point out that among Zaire's 'friends' Belgium alone kept its word."¹⁶

The imposition of unequal economic relations increases the indebtedness of the newly liberated African countries to the West. In 1975 it totaled about \$32 billion. (To meet such obligations the African countries must make payments of \$4 billion per year, i.e., about 12 percent of the value of their annual exports.) By opposing the efforts of the African countries for the establishment of equitable economic relations with the developed capitalist countries, the West tries to retain them, as in the colonial period, as their raw material appendage. This hinders their socioeconomic development and restricts their political independence.

A colonial past and neocolonial plunder are the main reasons for the fact that today 17 of the 19 poorest countries in the world are in Africa, that 60 million Africans out of a total of 140 million active population are unemployed, and that 39 percent of the population is totally illiterate. This is the reason for the steadily widening gap in the ratio of per capita national income between the populations of developed capitalist countries and of the newly liberated African states, currently reaching 14:1. "International imperialism and its main instrument--the multinational monopoly corporations--remain the main enemies and main obstacle to the progress of the peoples in Africa."

One of the means used by the imperialist states to achieve their selfish objectives is attempts to divide the young independent African countries and pit one against another. Let us recall the war in Nigeria in which the imperialist forces urged on the separatists in Biafra to rebel against the central authority of this developing big and influential African country. The events which cost the lives of over one million people broke out only two weeks after the Nigerian government raised the taxes of international oil monopolies. The imperialist countries tried to separate Katanga (today Shaba) from the Congo, whose progressive government had proclaimed nationalization in the country. They support the separatists in Kabinda in order to separate this petroleum rich Angolan province.

The United States and the other imperialist countries encouraged the growing chauvinistic ambitions of the Somali leadership and supported the Somali adventure in Ogaden in the hope of suppressing the Ethiopian revolution. Their policy led to the outbreak of the longest and most blood-letting armed conflict between independent African countries. Fanning a hotbed of war on the Horn of Africa, the imperialist countries, the United States above all, aimed at striking at the Ethiopian revolution and regain their lost strategic positions. The countries in this area have been assigned an important role in the imperialist plans of converting the Red Sea into an "Arab lake." This conceals the aspiration of the imperialist countries, the United States above all, to create a new military bloc. This would facilitate them to assume control over international waterways and expand their military presence in Africa and the Indian Ocean.

Following the 1967 victory of the Israeli operation, the hopes of imperialism and Zionism in the Middle East and the separatist movements in Erythrea. These movements were against the imperialist system as well. At that time, however, the policy pursued in the United States and the other imperialist countries was aimed at strengthening the emperor's power and the territorial integrity of Ethiopia as an imperialist base. They were not interested in the fate of the fate and the rights of the ethnic groups in Ethiopia. Following the 1974 revolution when the revolutionary government undertook to create conditions for the truly free and equal development of all nationalities, along with the great reaction the imperialists began to provide considerable support to the separatist movements. Without imperialist reinforcements it is difficult to understand the Ethiopian feudal past, would have been considered as the oppressor of the people of Erythrea and of new Ethiopia as a whole. The imperialist perspective has nothing in common with the national rights of the Erythreans. They are trying to separate Erythrea from Ethiopia to suppress the Ethiopian revolution, which they consider a very dangerous threat to their imperialist policies, and to create a bridgehead for launching a front against the progressive forces and national-liberation movements in Africa.

The reaction of imperialist military powers to the independent African countries is one of the most important components of imperialist strategy. In 1974, the imperialist countries launched the "division of labor" which, of late, has become an important agreement among imperialist countries, Zionists, and other imperialist powers against the progressive countries and national-liberation movements in Africa. The former have the olive branch and speak of peaceful relations of good will in the Middle East and South Africa. The latter, on the other hand, are promoting military and political aid, are promoting the expansion of their military power to crush the national-liberation movements and to maintain the imperialist systems.

The aggressive policy of Israeli Zionist leaders, and their colonial expansion to Israel and the Arab lands conquered through the force of arms, are consistent with the imperialist interests in the Middle East. This policy is supported by the generous military, economic and political support of the United States in the implementation of the Israeli policy of expansion of its foreign territories. The Israeli ruling class is engaged in a series of wars and bloody repressions against the Palestinian national liberation movement and against all fighters for the rights of the Arab lands. They are trying to suppress the Arab national-liberation movements which are the main objective of imperialist policy in this area.

The 1979 peace agreement concluded on 26 March 1979 under the auspices of the United Nations has not even further the contradictions in the Middle East. It has only created the outbreak of new conflicts. Securing the peace in the Middle East, the Israeli Zionists increased their military expansion against the Arab countries.

The purpose which American imperialism pursues with this treaty is not an equitable peace but the establishment, under its aegis, of a military-political alliance between Israel and Egypt as its strongpoint in this strategically important area.

"The cornerstone of the conspiracy," said M. Vilner, secretary general of the Communist Party of Israel, "is the creation of an alliance between Zionist and Arab reaction, together with American imperialism, directed against the independent countries and national liberation movements in the Middle East, the area of the Persian Gulf, and Africa. Israel and Egypt have been assigned the role of policemen of American imperialism in this area."

At the other end of the continent, the racists in the Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia are mounting criminal military operations against the native population of South Africa and the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe, which could be described only as deliberate genocide. They are mounting constant armed attacks on Angola, Mozambique, Zambia, and Botswana and are hindering the peaceful development of the peoples of these countries. With imperialist support the racist regimes would like to crush the enslaved peoples of the African south, make them abandon their legitimate struggle for national independence, force the African countries to forsake their support of the patriots in such countries, and impose upon their peoples puppet governments. "We cannot fail to be seriously concerned," said the greeting address delivered by Comrade T. Zhurkov to the participants in the World Conference for the Struggle Against Racism and Racial Discrimination, held in Geneva, "by the policy of the imperialist circles which, actively supporting the racist systems, are doing everything possible to promote suspicion and division among the democratic and progressive forces in Africa, impose neocolonial decisions for existing problems, and protect the interests of the international monopolies."

In recent years the outlines of imperialist policy in the African south have become clearer. After nearly three years of attempts that decisions are being sought which would include in some kind of administrative and universally recognized national-liberation movements, the imperialist powers took steps which eloquently proved that they are ready to accept the so-called "internal settlement" of problems, i.e., the neocolonial puppet governments set up by the will of the white racists. The imperialist countries became the direct accomplices of the racists in the implementation of the main conspiracy against the legitimate interests of the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia.

The events in Zaire, however, proved that the imperialist countries in NATO considered the activities of the racists and the foreign mercenaries sufficiently effective. Regardless of the great support they receive from NATO, considering the present ratio of forces in Africa they are unable to effectively perform their role as policemen. That is why the NATO members themselves assumed this task, undertaking collective aggressive military-political

actions in Africa. This is a new aspect in the African policy of imperialism, whose consequences could be quite dangerous. The periodical *KOMMUNIST* wrote that "The visible turn in the African policy of the United States and the other NATO countries is particularly dangerous. Until very recently they could see the ghost of the defeat in Viet Nam veering either in Zimbabwe or Angola, or on the Horn of Africa. This had a sobering effect on the propaganda and policies of the United States and the other Western powers. It looks as though the sober voices recalling Viet Nam and warning the governments of NATO countries of the possibility of its repetition in Africa have now begun to be drowned to an ever greater extent by voices demanding that a "revenge" for the defeat of imperialism be taken precisely in Africa."¹⁹

Interfering in Zaire, imperialism was saving not the lives of the whites but the capital investments of Western monopolies (\$1 billion for the United States, \$800 million for Belgium, and millions invested by France, the FRG, and Great Britain). On the other hand, a regime unquestionably executing imperialist policy in Africa, aimed at the weakening of progressive forces, was being rescued. "Starting with the assumption of power by Mobutu in 1965, as the result of a military coup carried out with CIA support," wrote *LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE*, "Zaire loyally performed the geopolitical role assigned to it. It not only sent its troops to fight on the side of the FNLA during the war in Angola, but acted as a middleman in the delivery of \$60 million to the FNLA-UNITA coalition. In the Organization of African States and in other Third World forums it supports the American views on matters such as the situation in the Middle East and the new international economic order."²⁰

The Shaba operation was not of "local importance" only. The Shaba events were used as a pretext to concentrate in the heart of the continent a big contingent of military units and create a "forward NATO base in Africa,"²¹ which is a threat to the progressive African countries. The regular demonstration of strength also took place to frighten the democratic and progressive forces on the continent and "give confidence" to neocolonial regimes experiencing strong domestic pressures. It was a demonstration, as the periodical *AFRIQUE-ASIE* wrote, to let the African countries realize that no point on the Black Continent could any longer escape the lightning intervention of the Western policemen.²²

Imperialism seeks in the feudal class and tribal leadership, and the mercantile bureaucratic bourgeoisie support and allies in carrying out its subversive activities. In order to protect their ruling position, the reactionary circles in the African countries openly conspire with it, and turn into tools in its hands for the suppression of the national-liberation movement of their own and other African peoples. An exceptionally dangerous aspect of such reciprocally complementing interests is the imperialist attempts to set up, with the help of the most reactionary African countries so-called "inter-African intervention forces." The creation of such forces is an old

imperialist objective. It intends to place them under NATO's aegis, and let them perform police functions on the continent under its command, i.e., protect imperialist interests by pitting some Africans against others. They will also be a form of legitimizing NATO's interference in Africa.

With their attempts to create "inter-African forces" the imperialist countries are taking yet one more step toward the implementation of their policy of blocs and the establishment of military meaning blocs on the continent. This is entirely consistent with their long-range attempts aimed at undermining the Organization of African Unity which, in the course of its 15 years of existence, has proved that it is an important instrument in the struggle for the defense of the common interests of the African peoples.

Another purpose of the Shaba action was to give another respite to the racist systems. The imperialist countries concentrated substantial military forces in the vicinity of Angola, Tanzania, and Zambia--the "front line countries"--and created a tension along their borders, thus diverting their policy of rendering all-round aid to the national liberation movement in Zimbabwe, Namibia, and South Africa. This step was coordinated with an increase in the number of armed attacks launched by the racists against Angola, Mozambique, and Zambia.

"The speed with which the United States provided transportation facilities and logistic support to Western intervention (in Shaba--the author)," concluded LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, "proves that the United States is resolved to pursue a more active policy in Africa."²³ The artificially created tension was used by the American administration to prepare the grounds for lifting the restrictions imposed in 1975 on the armed intervention by the United States in Africa and the one-sided lifting of the embargo imposed by the United Nations on trade with racist regimes.

In recent years, however, the tendency of the United States to organize military interventions in the domestic affairs of Africa through its Western European partners in NATO and the help of Arab and African reaction, has become clearer. As reported by TIME MAGAZINE, Cyrus Vance will continue "to encourage the French, the moderate Arabs, and others to use their influence in Africa."²⁴

Countries such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Morocco, and other western African countries with proimperialist systems are acting quite energetically in the implementation of imperialist policy in Africa.

The imperialist countries act within a single front when it becomes a question of suppressing the revolutionary process in Africa and holding back social changes in African countries. At the same time, however, they are waging an acute struggle among themselves for markets, raw material sources, and areas of influence. France and Britain are particularly active. It is no secret that France makes extensive use of the 12,000 French

paratroopers garrisoned in military bases in Djibouti, Chad, Senegal, Gabon, Mayotte, and Reunion, for the purpose of supporting reactionary African regimes. French troops openly participated in the battles in Chad, Mauritania, and Zaire. As Western political observers have pointed out, the coup in the Comoro Islands was carried out with the help of the French special services. They point out that France has begun to implement a plan for returning within the Western orbit the strategically important islands in the Indian Ocean. FRANCE NOUVELLE wrote that "Operations of the same type are being prepared against the Seyshelles, Sao Tome, and Principe; Madagascar and Algeria are the prime targets of French imperialism."²⁵ Furthermore, these bases are used by the imperialist forces for "direct military intervention in the domestic political life of the countries in which they are located as well as for provoking crises in other African countries."²⁶

NATO is discussing the question of organizing an operation similar to the one in Shaba to "rescue," if necessary, the whites in Rhodesia. These are new open threats facing the patriotic forces in Zimbabwe. The FRG as well has its special interests in Africa. In recent years the West German company Orbital Transport und Raketen AG (OTRAG) has settled in Zaire as though it owned it. It is experimenting with winged and ballistic missiles. To this effect it has leased for a 50 year term an area of 100,000 square kilometers. It is of interest that this huge training ground neighbors progressive African countries.

Relating all this with the imperialist plans of creating military blocs in West Africa, the area of the Red Sea, the Persian Gulf, and the South Atlantic, and the ideas calling for making Israel a member of NATO, we can clearly see that the strategists of the North Atlantic Pact are preparing to extend the control exercised by this aggressive bloc over the entire African continent. "NATO's actions and plans," wrote KOMMUNIST, "prove that the entire continent and the independence and free development of the young countries are the targets of most serious imperialist threats. With the help of weapons, military interventions, and other means imperialism tries to secure for itself in Africa a right to something which it has long lost."²⁷

The African peoples condemned NATO's interference in Zaire and opposed Western attempts to create "inter-African forces;" they considered them a threat to their freedom and independence. "The so-called 'inter-African forces,' organized on the initiative of the Western powers," stated Julius Nyerere, Tanzania's president, are an insult to Africa and limit the freedom of the Africans. Tanzania will consider such forces a weapon of neo-colonialism on our continent."²⁸ The statements of the predominant majority of heads of states of African countries who took part in the Khartoum meeting of the OAU, were in the same spirit.

The events in Africa proved, once again, that China's policy entirely coincides with NATO's African policy. It is no accident that it was precisely

during the Zaire action that China was described by the Western press as NATO's 16th member. Both in Zaire's case, during the national-liberation struggle in Angola, and in the events in Horn of Africa, China took the side of imperialism. All this proves that the policy of the present Chinese leadership in Africa follows the direction of the most aggressive NATO circles and is harmful to the just struggle waged by the African nations for true national independence. "China's sinister policy," emphasized the declaration of the Angolan Revolutionary Council, "is manifested in its total support of the policy of imperialist forces both in supplying weapons to Zaire as well as to the Angolan dissident groups which took up arms against the revolutionary gains of our people."²⁹

The African continent is in the throes of an unparalleled upsurge of the struggle against imperialism and for freedom, independence, and sovereignty over natural resources. In order to conceal its subversive activities against independent Africa, imperialism launched most disgusting lies concerning the policy of the Soviet Union, Cuba, and the other fraternal socialist countries in Africa. The West is most persistently promoting the idea of some sort of "Soviet-Cuban interference in the domestic affairs on the continent," and of a "communist threat." Hypocritical slogans are being raised such as "Africa for the Africans," and "African solutions to African problems." Joining in the wide ideological subversion are not only the bourgeois mass information media but most senior political leaders. Thus, for example, in the Shaba operation, despite official Soviet and Cuban statements, for weeks on end the White House misled public opinion claiming the existence of "proof" of the participation of the USSR and Cuba in the Shaba "aggression." To this day no such proof has been brought forth, nor could it be, for neither the USSR nor Cuba were involved in the internal rebellion of the population of this province in Zaire.

Concentrated anti-Soviet and anti-Cuban propaganda cannot mislead the African peoples. "There are no Cubans in Africa," said Zambian president Kenneth Kunda in Washington, "who have not been invited there."³⁰ Madagascar president Didier Ratsiraka said: "We are not all that naive not to be able to distinguish between the forces of intervention, plunder, and domination... and the forces of liberation which help us to counter the strikes and maneuvers aimed against our stability."³¹

At the same time, leading Western politicians tried to link the detente process with African events. "Brzezinski," NEWSWEEK wrote, "accused the Soviet Union of violating what was described as the detente code."³² Through this the imperialist countries, in fact, were trying to gain the right to interfere undisturbed in the internal affairs of the continent and preserve the social status quo through arms. A proper rebuff to such events was given in the 23 June 1978 Soviet government declaration on topical problems related to the situation in Africa. "Detente," the declaration stated, "in no case presumes putting an artificial end to the objective processes of historical development. It is not a document which ensures the protection

of anti-people's, rotten, and corrupt systems or of any special rights and privileges inherited from the colonial past or obtained by virtue of enslaving deals and treaties. It provides even less so an indulgence to the right to suppress the just struggle of the peoples for national liberation and social progress or for interfering in their internal affairs."

The USSR and the other countries ruled by real socialism are implementing in Africa, as anywhere else in the world, a principle-minded and consistent policy of friendship and peace among nations, an internationalist policy. "Our country is doing everything possible to develop with them (the African countries--the author) friendly and fruitful cooperation," stated L. I. Brezhnev, CPSU Central Committee General Secretary and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Chairman, in his greeting address on the occasion of African Liberation Day. "It supports their struggle for strengthening their political independence and economic autonomy, and for the reorganization of international economic relations on a just and equitable basis."³⁴ Particularly close ties are being established with African countries whose peoples have chosen a progressive path of development and set as their target the building of a society without the exploitation of man by man. The members of the socialist community are their loyal and reliable friends. They not only sympathize with their struggle but provide them with effective and extensive aid in the political and economic areas and, if necessary, military aid as well if required for the defense of their revolution and for repelling imperialist aggression. "In the socialist countries, these states have loyal and reliable friends, ready to give them all possible aid and support in their development along a progressive path," L. I. Brezhnev stated. "This support is not only moral and political but economic, organizational, and even includes assistance in strengthening their defense."³⁵

The Bulgarian People's Republic is also making its contribution to strengthening the economic and political independence of the young African countries. This is confirmed by the active political and economic relations which our country maintains with the countries on the African continent, and Comrade T. Zhivkov's meetings and talks with many leaders of a number of countries in north and tropical Africa and heads of national-liberation movements. "Relations between our country and Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Nigeria, the Congo People's Republic, Tanzania, Benin, and other African countries have been developed further," said Comrade T. Zhivkov in his report to the National Party Conference. "We are continuing to assist the Ethiopian revolution and the patriotic forces in Namibia and Zimbabwe."³⁶

A new page in such relations was turned in the course of Comrade Todor Zhivkov's official visits to Nigeria, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, and the Y. People's Democratic Republic. Such visits were not only of exceptional importance to the development of friendly relations with these countries but a new manifestation of the "solidarity between the members of the socialist community, headed by the Soviet Union, with the struggle waged by the young African and Arab countries for strengthening their national independence and for social and economic progress."

Following a short period during which imperialism abstained from direct military interventions, it confirmed that it had not abandoned its methods of armed intervention in the domestic affairs of African countries. Wherever the forces of national and social liberation threaten imperialist interests in Africa, imperialism is launching feverish attempts to coordinate its counterstrikes. The fact that such coordination takes place within the NATO military bloc is of particular danger to the African peoples. All this calls for the increased vigilance of the African peoples, the organization of a broad anti-imperialist front by all progressive and patriotic forces on the continent, and the support of the progressive and peace-loving forces in the world in order to throw back, yet once again, the attempts of imperialism to recolonize the continent.

FOOTNOTES

1. "International Conference of Solidarity with the Struggle of the African and Arab Peoples Against Imperialism and Reaction." Addis Ababa, 14-17 September 1978. General Declaration. Document No 1/18, p 2.
2. "For Peace, Security, Cooperation, and Social Progress in Europe," PROBLEMI NA MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, No 8, 1976, p 9.
3. NOVOYE VREMYA, No 28, 1978, p 19.
4. Ibid., No 26, 1978, p 4.
5. AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 7, 1978, p 2.
6. LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, July 1978.
7. "CPSU Central Committee Report and the Forthcoming Party Tasks in Domestic and Foreign Policy" [in Bulgarian]. Partizdat, 1976, p 22.
8. V. I. Lenin, "Such." [Works], Vol 18, p 402.
9. ME I MO, No 10, 1978, p 38.
10. RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 25 May 1978.
11. "For Freedom, Independence, National Renaissance and Social Progress of the Peoples of Tropical and South Africa." Document of the Communist and Workers Parties of the African Continent. INFORMATSIONEN HYULETIN NA TsK NA BKP, No 10, 1978, p 76.
12. AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 5, 1978, pp 3-4.

13. RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 19 June 1978.
14. Quoted from Stuart Smith, "AMERIKANSKIY NEOKOLONIALIZM V AFRIKE" [American Neocolonialism in Africa], Progress Moscow, 1975, p 98.
15. L'HUMANITE, 15 June 1978.
16. LE SOIR, 10 November 1978.
17. "For Freedom, Independence, National Renaissance and Social Progress of the Peoples of Tropical and South Africa." Document of the Communist and Workers Parties of the African Continent. INFORMATIONS BYULETIN NA TsK BKP, No 10, 1978, p 75.
18. RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 15 August 1978.
19. KOMMUNIST, No 9, 1978, p 109.
20. LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, July, 1978.
21. AFRIQUE-ASIE, No 162, 1978, p 24.
22. Ibid., p 25.
23. LE MONDE DIPLOMATIQUE, July 1978.
24. TIME, 5 June 1978, p 10.
25. FRANCE NOUVELLE, 29 May 1978, p 14.
26. "International Conference of Solidarity with the Struggle of the African and Arab Peoples Against Imperialism and Reaction." Addis Ababa, 10-17 September 1978. General Declaration. Document No 22/18 p 1.
27. KOMMUNIST, No 9, 1978, p 114.
28. PRAVDA, 10 June 1978.
29. Ibid., 29 May 1978.
30. NEWSWEEK, 29 May 1978, p 16.
31. NOVOYE VREMIA, No 28, 1978, p 7.
32. NEWSWEEK, 12 June 1978, p 10.
33. RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 24 June 1978.

34. Ibid., 25 May 1978.
35. L. I. Brezhnev, "Leninskim Kursom" [The Leninist Course]. Speeches and Articles. Politizdat, Moscow, Vol 6, 1978, p 591.
36. T. Zhivkov. "Za Usuvurshenstvuvane na Sotsialisticheskata Organizatsiya na Truda i Planovoto Rukovodstvo na Ikonmikata" [Improving the Socialist Organization of Labor and the Planned Management of the Economy], Partizdat, 1978, p 13.
37. RABOTNICHESKO DELO, 4 November 1978.

S003

CSO: 2200

IMMEDIATE CHANGES IN NETO'S POLICIES ARE NOT EXPECTED

Paris LE MONDE in French 13 Sep 79 p 1

[Editorial: "Angola Without Neto"]

[Text] President Neto, who recently died in Moscow, held a very special place among African chiefs of state. Undisputed leader of the national struggle against the Portuguese colonialists, a well-known poet, he was, unlike some others, a Marxist of the old school and with a thorough education, even recently claiming to draw his inspiration from the "ideological clarity that comes with Marxism-Leninism." The USSR, which today deplores the loss of this "great friends," had little of this quality.

If the former chief of state was largely responsible for the ideological strictness of the regime, his influence on a team that was always divided was that of a peace-maker and arbitrator rather than that of a divine authority for his African peers. No heir apparent has evidently asserted himself--though Mr Lucio Lara, member of the political branch of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] and secretary of the "organization" department of the Central Committee, seems to enjoy a privileged position--so it is probable that after closing ranks during times of hardship, the Angolan leadership team will experience a difficult phase in the struggle for power.

The risk of instability is confirmed by the recent history of the party. During the most recent crisis which shook up the party, the prime minister, Mr Lopo do Nascimento, and two important members of the cabinet, considered to be unquestioning supporters of Moscow, were dismissed in December 1978. In the previous year, the confrontation between the two main factions of the MPLA had turned into an attempt at a coup d'etat by Mr Nito Alves, and "several hundred members" had been arrested.

In a country torn by civil war, waged by the FNLA [Angolan National Liberation Front] and especially by the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola], and where the economic situation is of more than minor concern, it is not probable that in the near future the new leaders will seriously challenge the last political tendencies of the past president.

Actually it is a question of less dependency on Moscow, of its concern over more openness, of conciliatory gestures toward Portugal and, in a more general way, toward the West, and its reconciliation with its neighbor Zaire. However, mediation between "doctrinarians" and "realists," something at which the chief of state excelled, will be seriously lacking from now on.

At the time when the crisis of southern Africa is apparently going through a critical phase, Luanda's role is of great importance. Without there being any question of challenging the presence of 20,000 Cuban soldiers who help the regime, the new leaders must, in effect, redefine their policy with regard to Namibia and Zimbabwe Rhodesia. By "modulating" their support for the guerrillas who get arms and training from Angola, they can either back the states called the "frontline states" who clearly wish for a settlement, or push for the "solution through arms only," preferred by the USSR. In Namibia, the choice of the first policy would have serious consequences for the struggle carried on by SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization].

Being a good Marxist, the former president used to declare that "great personalities" cannot have a major role in the history of their country. The consequences of his death will undoubtedly not be the kind that support this point of view.

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CSO 4400

UNITA STATES INTENTION TO FIGHT REGIME

Paris LE MONDE in French 13 Sep 79 p 3

[Editorial: "The Death of Agostinho Neto"]

[Excerpts] No special security measures are visible in Luanda this Wednesday morning, 12 September, the day after the announcement of President Neto's death in Moscow, that was read on the radio in a communique of the political branch of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] by Mr Jose Eduardo dos Santos, minister of planning and interim chief of state. The reading of the announcement was preceded by the national anthem and followed by 2 minutes of silence. A mourning period of 45 days was decreed by the MPLA which calls on the citizens to close ranks behind the party.

Aside from the Soviet reactions, as reported by our correspondent, the death of the chief of state brought forth many expressions of sympathy from around the world.

In Paris, the spokesman for the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA), who leads the struggle against the Luanda government, has declared: "Our struggle is not aimed against one man but against a regime, a situation, and the presence of foreign soldiers in our country." In a letter to the political branch of the MPLA, Mr Marchais paid tribute to the memory of "a revolutionary of our time, a fighter for the dignity and the freedom of the people, and a great chief of state."

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CSO: 4400

ANGOLA

USSR EMBARRASSMENT ON NETO'S DEATH IN MOSCOW NOTED

Paris LE MONDE in French 13 Sep 79 p 3

[Article by Daniel Vernet: "Moscow Deplores the Loss of a 'Great Friend of the USSR'"--passages in slantlines published in italics]

[Text] Moscow--As is customary when the head of state of an allied country dies, at the time of Agostinho Neto's death the Soviet authorities expressed in their message of sympathy addressed to the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola], the workers' party, /"the certainty that the noble ideals for which the son of the Angolan people had fought will materialize through the acts of his comrades in arms." Messrs Brezhnev and Kosygin deplore the loss of a /"good friend of the Soviet Union"/, and emphasize the fact that one of his great merits was that /"he always thought there was a lasting bond between the success of the Angolan people and the strengthening of the alliance and comradeship-in-arms of all progressive forces."/ They reaffirm /"the immutable path of the USSR, which consists of promoting brotherly friendship and cooperation with the People's Republic of Angola."/

The Angolan delegation, consisting of Messrs Lucio Lara and Pascal Luvualo, members of the political branch of the MPLA-Labor Party, arrived in Moscow on Tuesday. They were supposed to stop the funeral arrangements made for Agostinho Neto, whose mortal remains will, in all likelihood, be brought back to Angola.

The death of the Angolan chief of state was not confirmed by the TASS agency until after the news had been announced in Luanda, though it had given rise to rumors in the Soviet capital since Monday morning.

During the spring of last year, Mr Neto had already spent a month in Moscow in order to receive treatment, and there had been rumors about his death in African diplomatic circles.

If, at the end of last year, Houari Boumedienne went back to Algeria to die, after several weeks of treatment in Moscow, Neto's death on Soviet soil has visibly embarrassed the authorities. The medical report insists on the fact that the Angolan president arrived in the USSR

"in serious condition", and had an operation ("with his consent") on 8 September. Besides, it points out that for a long time the president was suffering from chronic hepatitis which was gradually changing into cirrhosis of the liver, bringing about the obstruction of the biliary duct. The report states that there was a malignant tumor of the pancreas, and notes that death came "in spite of intense therapeutic treatment."

The Angolan affair has marked a turning point in the foreign policy of the USSR. By openly intervening in Angola and by sponsoring Cuban soldiers in Africa—a thing Mr Gromyko still justified recently referring to the UN Charter--the Kremlin ended several years of relative moderation.

After the setbacks of its first attempts at establishing itself on the continent, following the wave of African independence, it had, in effect, adopted a "low profile." The after-effects of U.S. intervention in Vietnam were to give it the opportunity to revise its strategy.

Being the stakes in the Sino-Soviet and Soviet-U.S. double rivalry, Angola has been, in more than one way, a testing-ground for USSR intentions. First, vis-a-vis the Chinese who accuse them of slackness, the Soviets showed that they continued to behave as "revolutionary forces" and that--after being the first to recognize the new republic in 1975--they did their duty "against imperialism." Then vis-a-vis the West whom they informed that setbacks in Europe did not imply giving anything up on other continents. Less than a year after the proclamation of independence in Angola, they were to conclude with Luanda a treaty of friendship and cooperation which would serve as model for other papers of this type signed with countries of the Third World.

Because of its geographic location, Angola offers the Soviet Union an enviable strategic position on the borders of Namibia and Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). Moscow saws the promises of the "exalting example of Angola for all the peoples of the south of Africa."

The difficulties with the Cubans, called upon to intervene at the other end of the continent in the Horn of Africa, the two Shaba wars, that showed the West's readiness to fight, the Sato-Mobutu reconciliation, the Soviet willingness to calm the passions in Africa, have made Angola lose its central and highly visible place during the last months. Still, the USSR experimented there with a new policy which it would apply elsewhere.

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CNT: AMV

BOTSWANA

BRITISH

DIAMOND PRODUCTION--A new diamond mine opened at Gaborone last month. Located 50 kilometers southeast of the Orapa mine it is also exploited by De Beers. A mine at Swanong, still in the planning stage, will also be a De Beers project, exploitation scheduled to begin in 1965. According to De Beers experts, Botswana will by 1965 produce more than 3 million carats, ranking it alongside the Soviet Union as a leader in diamond production. By then wealth from diamond production is expected to reach about 300 million dollars, of which close to 200 million will go to Botswana. /Paris DEMAIN L'AFRIQUE in French 24 Sep 59 p 27

CSO: 4400

BRIEFS

GISCARD, BAGAZA REMARKS--On 28 September Mr Giscard d'Estaing invited to luncheon Burundi head of state Col Jean-Baptiste Bagaza, who paid a 1-day visit to France and returned to Bujumbura on Saturday. In his speech the French President stated that "In order to achieve its objectives in the development sphere, cooperation as we see it...must go hand in hand with the closest possible regional cooperation among neighbor countries with a common future." He emphasized that "It has been decided to concentrate our efforts on operations aimed at opening up Burundi." During a press conference Colonel Bagaza stated that he deemed it "normal" that people of a country whose government is no longer able to fulfill its responsibilities should try to overthrow and "appeal" to "friendly countries" for help. Referring to the Central African Republic, he stated that those who initiated a change of regime asked for help "in a proper manner." "Principles must be safeguarded and states must remain sovereign," he said, "but when a government goes as far as ignoring its people's interests, it is normal for patriots to decide to fight against it and ask for external aid." Discussing French-Burundi cooperation, President Bagaza stated that an agreement has been concluded with a view to increasing French financial aid for national undertakings. [Text] [Paris LE MONDE in French 30 Sep-1 Oct 79 p 2 LD]

CSO: 4400

FRANCE TRYING TO GET RID OF BOKASSA, KEEP CAE AS ALLY

Paris DEMAIN L'AFRIQUE in French 10 Sep 79 pp 66-67

[Article by Mireille Duteil: "The Central African Empire--A Choice Piece"]

[Text] Entrenched in his fortress-palace of Berengo, Bokassa I is chuckling. His African peers wanted his head by making public the report confirming his responsibility in the Ngaragba massacres. After Senegal, Uganda (on 21 August) recalled its ambassador to Bangui. And France, through the intermediary of Rene Journiac [President Giscard d'Estaing's adviser for African affairs], asked [former] Emperor Bokassa to resign and make way for a regency council.

But the emperor is still there, delighted with the trick that he is in the process of playing on Paris and moderate Africa. Since he is in disgrace he will call the Libyans and Soviets to the rescue. They, on their part, do not stand in niceties.

This blackmail is not new on Bokassa's part, and it has always paid off. But is he not risking too much this time? This is all the more pertinent as the emperor has not been satisfied with making verbal threats. He signed a military cooperation agreement with Moscow. However, the Central African Empire, in the very heart of the dark continent, is a choice piece by virtue of its strategic position and its mineral wealth. This explains both the interest of Paris in Bangui and the fact that the candidates who wish to supplant France are numerous.

This is a highly embarrassed France. The departure of French troops from Chad after the events of the two Shaba Province [Zaire] operations generates fears that are still acute among French officials. Should Chad topple, they figure, should Zaire topple or Bangui follow, the whole of central Africa, even West Africa, runs the risk of being destabilized. This is a simple application of the "domino theory" so dear to Henry Kissinger. Hence the shilly-shallyings of Paris. To be sure. Jean-Bedel Bokassa has never been an ideal head of state, but he played the Western game and France is afraid that if it abandons the field the "vacuum" may immediately be filled by the adversary camp. Thus, in May 1979 the French president's office

decided to suspend the military aid (worth 2 or 3 million French francs) that France used to grant Bangui. Today in Paris some do not fail to note bitterly that the Libyans and Soviets immediately supplied to Bokassa the military equipment which France had denied him. Libya additionally proposed to Bangui that it would assure the organizations and training of Central African troops, and in July 1979 400 military personnel were flown from Bangui to Tripoli.

Additionally, if the presence of Soviet military advisers in the Central African Empire cannot be proven, Bangui and Moscow nevertheless signed a military cooperation agreement in August 1979. The fact is that French military technical assistance was then nonexistent, the last French assistant having left the Central African Empire in 1977. He was a tailor charged with producing the embroidered uniforms of Emperor Bokassa I.

In May 1979 the French Government decided not to open its coffers any longer to pay Central African officials. At the French President's office, the Elysee Palace, questions started being asked about what such outlays were really accomplishing. Libya immediately took over. And it is even asserted unofficially in Paris that Col Mu'ammarr Qadhafi may have proposed the handsome amount of 13 billion CFA francs to the potentate in Berengo palace if he drove the French definitively out of the Central African Empire. It is certain that for Tripoli or Moscow privileged ties with Bokassa in the heart of central Africa in a country with tempting mining resources are not to be sneered at.

The fact is that the Central African Empire, besides an enviable strategic position, has a subsoil that is rich in uranium and diamonds. France in particular is greatly interested in the uranium reserves of the Bakouma deposit estimated to contain 15,000 tons. Paris, through the intermediary of the French Atomic Energy Commission (AEC), is a beneficiary in the exploitation of that deposit whose discovery goes back to 1963. This is an exploitation that raises numerous problems.* Besides its remoteness (Bakouma is located 800 km from Bangui and does not have any land or air access routes), the low grade of the Central African ore causes a kilogram of uranium to cost much more than its world price. The French thus decided to put the project on the back burner. But Bokassa then started to look for partners in the United States, then Switzerland. Early in 1974 he granted the Aluguisse Company [of Switzerland] mining rights in all the subsoil of the Central African Empire whereas Paris and the French Atomic Energy Commission considered that the French exploration license was the only valid one.

Finally, the advent of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing to power underlay France's renewed interest in the uranium at Bakouma. The French president entrusted his cousin, Jacques Giscard d'Estaing, financial director of the French

*On the subject of uranium see Pierre Pean, Bokassa I, Editions Alain Moreau [publishing house].

Atomic Energy Commission, with reactivating the Bakouma project to which Bokassa was giving so much importance. Indeed, for Paris it seemed impossible to keep the Central African Empire in the French orbit without participating in the uranium exploitation project. In June 1975 an agreement gave France, through the intermediary of the French AEC and CFMU [French Uranium Ores Company], a 30 percent interest, equal to the share of Alusuisse, in URCA [Uranium Company of the Central African Empire] which is charged with the future exploitation of the deposit. The rise in the price of oil has made Bakouma's uranium profitable and this should enable the CAE to double its GNP. In January 1979 French-Central African agreements called for the construction at Trappes near Paris of a pilot plant for the processing of uranium slated to be operational in 1985 at the latest.

Despite its locked position and its small population (2 million inhabitants) the Central African Empire--if it were not being literally plundered by its emperor--would be among the richest countries of Africa. Diamonds are the most glaring example of this plunder. One of the country's latest diamond merchants is the emperor himself, but in 1977 40,000 Central African artisans drew a ridiculously low income (approximately 4,000 CFA francs a month) from diamonds. It is estimated that two-thirds of the diamond production is exported fraudulently. "Kilometer 5," the working class suburb of Bangui, has acquired an unsavory reputation as the crossroads of all the traffickers of the capital. However, the price rise in unprocessed diamonds has increased by one-third the state's inflow in foreign exchange (7,893 million CFA francs in 1978 compared to 5,293 million in 1977). That year diamond exports represented 23 percent of total revenues from CAE exports.

As for the coffee of which 96 percent is sold to France, it brings in nearly half of the total revenues from exports. The good coffee harvests of these past few years combined with the price hike in 1977 have made it possible for the CAE's balance of trade to show a surplus since 1976. However, the country continues to live beyond its means. Coffee was also a way for Emperor Bokassa to round out his personal fortune. Since 1977 the Coffee Stabilization Fund has had to return to the Treasury 55 percent of the levies that it collects on the value of coffee exports. Now, this payment was in no way included in the budget. In 1978 the emperor decided, despite the opposition of his minister, to have this amount of the fund paid to him. This year the corresponding amount is included in the budget for a value of 1.65 billion CFA francs.

For coffee as well as for cotton or peanuts the lack of structures for gathering crops often leads to a situation in which agricultural products rot in the fields. And when the peasant has the good fortune to see his harvest removed from his fields, he is paid in funny money, in "fund bonds" which he will never be able to convert into cash. Thus, the peasants prefer to grow food crops which at least assure their subsistence.

Bokassa is increasing his conspicuous consumption expenditures while his country survives only thanks to foreign subsidies and assistance. But while the Central African Empire is potentially rich, it is not the only country in this category on the continent. And it does not seem that it is its economic importance which constitutes its principal attractiveness in the eyes of Paris or in those of its new Libyan or Soviet friends. Bokassa, a past master at blackmail, has to be sure just signed a cooperation agreement with Moscow but, in March 1979, he closed the Soviet cultural center in Bangui. To Paris, Bokassa still represents a link in the chain of the friends of the West, an embarrassing friend to be sure but much less so than if he became pro-Libyan or pro-Soviet. And the Elysee Palace would undoubtedly like, before taking decisive measures, to have assurances regarding the post-Bokassa period. This even gives headaches to President Valery Giscard d'Estaing, for he has apparently not yet found an answer to the following question: How to get rid of Bokassa while retaining the Central African Empire as a privileged ally?

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CSO: 4400

CENTRAL AFRICAN REPUBLIC

BRIEFS

ACTIVITIES OF OPPOSITION GROUPS--After the publication of the report of the investigation committee on the Bangui massacres, the opposition movements have wanted to move fast for they feel that the fall of [former] Emperor Bokassa is imminent. The Liberation Front of the Oubanguians (FLO), headed by the former Central African ambassador in France, Sylvestre Bangui, summoned on 1 September 1979 representatives of the Central African community in Europe. The purpose of this conference was to organize a demonstration against the regime of Berengo [Bokassa's palace]. What is involved is a peaceful march which will take place in Paris in the middle of September 1979. On its part the MLPC [Liberation Movement of the Central African People], headed by Mr Patasse, declared itself ready to take up arms. As for the dignitaries of the regime, there are more and more of them taking "holidays" in Paris. Empress Catherine reportedly arrived in the French capital last month [August 1979] preceded by the personal adviser of the emperor and the former president of the Central African Republic, David Dacko. [Text] [Paris DEMAIN L'AFRIQUE in French 10 Sep 79 pp 20, 21] 2662

CSO: 4400

GOVERNMENT MUST REFORM ADMINISTRATIVE APPARATUS TO SUCCEED

Paris DEMAIN L'AFRIQUE in French 10 Sep 79 pp 58, 59

[Article by Saleh Kebzabo, correspondent in central Africa: "What Has Not Been Said"]

[Text] In this early September 1979 Chadians were still waiting for the establishment in Ndjamena of the new transitional government of national unity, the keystone of the Lagos agreement (see DEMAIN L'AFRIQUE No 33-34). It should indeed be noted that the delegations which had taken part in the conference of national reconciliation in Nigeria's capital thereafter dispersed in several directions: To Ndjamena, but also Moundou, Tripoli, Paris, and so on. These are as many "detours" which have significantly delayed the implementation of the agreement which they had painstakingly reached in Lagos. To understand their lack of haste in going to the Ndjamena appointment it is necessary to review this Lagos conference and the far-reaching disagreements that it brought to light.

At the opening of the conference Mahamat Abba, in the name of the FACP [Joint Provisional Action Front], set the keynote: Initially, he called for the dissolution of the Ndjamena government and the immediate departure of the French troops. Others answered him right away, stating that it was necessary to proceed in sequence: The government problem was not raised since the delegates from Ndjamena came as factions and, as far as the French troops were concerned, the issue was to be discussed when that item was reached on the agenda. After the approval of the working documents--the Kano agreement and its action program--the participants settled in fairly short order the matter involving the fate of the prisoners: They were to be released 15 days after the formation of the government. Then, the establishment of the neutral force was discussed, and this gave rise to harsh clashes. Finally, the inter-African contingent, it was agreed, was to be made up of Beninese, Congolese, and Guinean troops. This was a compromise in which the FACP could definitely rejoice although it had sought at the outset that the countries neighboring Chad also be involved in that force.

In the field it is asked how the operation of "demilitarization"--that is, the departure of the French force--and the installation of the neutral force will be effectively carried out. This is an extensive program which calls for the deployment of sizable resources which, for the time being, seem to be lacking. Hence, it is not surprising if Cameroon, generally discreet, should have thought it appropriate to declare publicly that this clause in the agreement was "unrealistic and unrealizable."

Will the FACP, which made of the departure of French troops an indispensable condition for the conclusion of the Lagos agreement, accept that the neutral force be constituted of Chadian units as some delegates advocated? One can doubt it, for the representatives of the various factions of the FACP declared that they would not go to Ndjamena unless their safety there was guaranteed. Under these conditions, it was useless to waste so many days in Lagos on the issue of the government.

When the agreement was concluded--while the conference was on the point of being closed--a last-minute initiative nearly jeopardized everything. The representative of the Organization of African Unity, "at the request of the participating countries," suggested that the government of unity be established on the spot. The delegates of Ndjamena proved to be reticent but, to everyone's surprise, the FACP unanimously supported this proposal.

The meeting of Sunday, 19 August 1979, got under way at 2200 hours in a tense atmosphere. The names of Mahamat Abba for the FACP and of Goukouni Ouaddaïni for the Ndjamena group were proposed. At 2330 hours the meeting was suspended. General Yar 'Adua of Nigeria could then be seen talking at length with Goukouni, insistently asking the latter to yield in favor of Mahamat Abba. Goukouni stood his ground because he knew that the Kamougue faction was backing him even if it could not openly evidence such preference given its ties with the FACP. Additionally, 8 years of jail under Francois Tombalbaye have seriously affected the capabilities of Mahamat Abba. Some members of the FACP did not, incidentally, conceal in private their regret at not having a more credible candidate.

At the resumption of the meeting, still in executive session, Ahmat Acyl said in a pathetic tone: "Goukouni has always stated that positions did not interest him and that he was ready to sacrifice himself in the interest of Chad. This is the time to prove such good will." One might have believed for a second that Ouaddaïni Goukouni would give way. "I am ready to take a step so that peace may return," he declared. But in fact he was going to ask the others to make concessions.

At 0230 hours the meeting was suspended once more and there was further bargaining. In the last analysis the crucial negotiations were to take place elsewhere. The heads of factions and their advisers shuttled among the different groups. 'Ali Turayki [Libyan foreign minister] proposed a triumvirate whose chairman would rotate every month. At 0430 hours the meeting

was resumed in the presence of General Yar 'Adua, who voiced a suggestion: "Considering that we are not making progress, we propose that you establish an organ to serve as government. It will be chaired by Goukouni and will include representatives of all factions but no leader. We shall continue consultations until the atmosphere improves, waiting until all the leaders are in a position to meet once more in Ndjamena or in a neighboring country to form the government."

The meeting was adjourned and resumed only at 1000 hours. To judge by the tense expressions, no one had slept a lot. From the time of the resumption the FACP took up the Libyan proposal about the triumvirate which, visibly, did not please anyone in the room. As for Yar 'Adua's suggestion, it was deliberately ignored. Each party insisted on defending its positions. At the end of the morning Mahamat Saleh said: "We must very simply take cognizance of our failure and draw the necessary conclusions from it."

The impasse was complete. Did it mean the failure of Lagos II? Among the ministers of the participating countries, meeting in another room, the atmosphere was heavy. General Yar 'Adua seemed disappointed. 'Ali Turayki, in the midst of Ramadan, was smoking cigarette after cigarette. Moumouni Djermakoye [of Niger] was displeased. But the threesome returned to the task and held talks with the principal heads of factions. Goukouni met the three men and made a statement that attracted great attention and which left no doubt whatever about his intentions. That was the major turning point of the conference.

General Yar 'Adua asked 'Ali Turayki to put pressure on the Tripoli group (the FACP) so that Ouaddeimi Goukouni might be elected. Acyl, tired, unnerved, no longer knew where to turn. He told his interlocutors that he was ready to back Goukouni on condition that his friends accept him and that the key portfolios in the government be assigned to them. It was only at dawn on Tuesday [21 August] that Goukouni was appointed.

The government still had to be formed. Three days were devoted to that task. In fact, what was involved was to divide the portfolios among the factions. The South secured 10 ministries (including those of the Economy, Planning, and Agriculture) as well as directorates deemed strategic such as that of the national security police and the general staff of the armed forces. Twelve ministries were assigned to the Ndjamena and Tripoli groups.

The problem now is that of the operation of that government. It is difficult to imagine Goukouni chairing meetings with personalities as different as Mahamat Abba, Ahmat Acyl, Abba Sidick, or Col Wadal Kamougue. The big mistake will have been to form a government in which the proportion involved is simultaneously a function of the factions and regions. These are two parameters difficult to reconcile that will inevitably entail bottlenecks and crisis unless the ministers evidence a broad viewpoint and mute their personal ambitions.

It will be necessary to bring back to Ndjamena all the departments transferred to Moundou as well as to recall the thousands of cadres who fled the capital, to reorganize a national army on new bases. The immensity of the task indicates the difficulties that will be experienced in implementing the Lagos agreements.

In order to succeed the government will immediately have to undertake far-reaching reform of the state apparatus. It is by the quality of this reform that the action of Goukouni and the team around him will be judged.

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CSO: 4400

KAMOUGUE'S RESERVATIONS CONCERNING LAGOS PACT NOTED

Brazzaville LA SEMAINE AFRICAINE in French 13-19 Sep 79 p 10

[Unattributed Article: "Nothing Is Yet in Operation"]

[Text] On Monday 3 September 1979, officials in Ndjamena organized an interim committee for the Transitional National Union Government.

This committee, chaired by Mr Goukouni Ouaddeimi will be responsible for all current business pending the installation of the new transitional Government, provided for in the Lagos Pact of last 21 August.

The present committee is composed of 10 members, representing all the politico-military tendencies of northern Chad and exercising a supervisory role over 12 ministries. Ten other ministerial posts have temporarily been placed under the supervision of the presidency, awaiting the arrival in Ndjamena of the delegates from the southern regions of the country.

Southernist individuals have in fact, according to Radio Moundou (Southern Chad), begun to question certain points of the Lagos Pact, especially the distribution of ministerial portfolios, of which they desire a reassessment.

In a statement made to the AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE, Lieutenant Colonel Kamougue indicated, in fact, that "Everything can be brought into question if certain points in the agreements made at Lagos concerning Chadian reconciliation are not resolved in a manner favorable to the southern tribes."

According to the vice president of the Transitional National Union Government, the tribes living in the southern part of the country do not approve the distribution of portfolios in the new Government, chiefly those of the key ministries such as Defense and the Interior, which are all going to representatives of Northernist tendencies.

Lieutenant Colonel Kamougue went on to say: "We southerners will not return to Ndjamena until demilitarization has been implemented and the withdrawal of arms from civilians carried out."

The Chadian vice president added: "We tend to forget the plundering of which we were the victims, but we shall not compromise our security. The ball is now in the hands of Goukouni (the present president of the transitional Government)."

With respect to the "neutral force" which will soon be sent to Chad, Lieutenant Colonel Kamougue expressed the desire that it be truly "neutral" and manifest "the honorable behavior that is expected of it."

As far as the withdrawal of the French troops--which has already begun--is concerned, Lieutenant Colonel Kamougue qualified his opinion of the matter as "mitigated."

"The French force played an active role in the confrontations of last February and March," he said. "This situation can be explained, no doubt, as a marriage of interest. We might have wished that the French remain a little longer, to help the 'neutral force' with the demilitarization and disarmament of the capital, since they are entirely familiar with the locations of the chief caches of arms."

It seems that President Goukouni has requested that the withdrawal of the French be halted. But this conforms to the Lagos Pact, which provides for the withdrawal of the troops only after the formation of the Transitional National Union Government.

Lieutenant Colonel Kamougue confirmed that he had not yet sent a representative to Ndjamena to sit on the "Temporary Administrative Committee," which began to function on 3 September.

The Chadian vice-president then recalled the unfolding of events at the Lagos Conference. "We left for Lagos with two possible alternatives in prospect: peace in Chad or the splitting and tearing asunder of this country.

"So we were sporting about it and went along from the very outset with the notion that the presidency was to revert to the north," he continued. "Later on, we spent three days and three nights quarreling over the selection of a president. Mr Mahamat Abba (FROLINAT, First Peoples' Army), who was to have been named president, finally agreed to yield the post to Mr Goukouni, since it was clear that the elements in control of Ndjamena felt that they could not return empty-handed."

Lieutenant Colonel Lamougue has been particularly generous with his statements of late. Interviewed by "Radio Moundou" on 8 September, the Southerner leader declared that his region will participate in the new National Union Government provided by the Sapsa Pact. According to him, there are "no problems on that score."

"If there are any problems in the north," Lieutenant Colonel Lamougue went on, "they are a result of the proliferation of the various tendencies. In the south we sought to have a prefectural representation. In the north the trend was to intervene from above in the administration of the prefectures. These difficulties were foreseeable, and I am not surprised that they have occurred," he concluded. These new words of Lieutenant Colonel Lamougue seem certain to appease the fears that his earlier statements had aroused.

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SHIFT TOWARD WEST IN FOREIGN POLICY SEEN

Paris DEMAIN L'AFRIQUE in French 10 Sep 79 p 33

[Article by Ne M'Boma, special correspondent in Malabo: "A Typhoon Blows By"]

[Text] Malabo, 18 days after the "blow for freedom" against Francisco Nguema Masie. Symbol and irony, at the foot of the only modern picture theater in the Equatorial Guinean capital a Soviet poster announced the picture "Black Night Over Chile." The curtain had been pulled a week earlier but people did not take to the streets at all--not at all. However, with what avidity do the citizens rush up to a foreigner to deliver him, and to think that a single gesture was punished by a prison term, even the death sentence, a month earlier.

Yet, the disastrous state of the country is striking. With the exception of the regions bordering on Gabon and Cameroon, Nguema Masie systematically and totally "disindustrialized" his country and reduced the activities of the peasants to subsistence agriculture. As for the capital, its aspect is sufficiently expressive. A typhoon seems to have blown away Malabo: The shattered street lamps no longer give any light. Outside of the harbor district hemmed by white residences of diplomats, there is desolation, desolation, and rot everywhere. The city's three hotels are on the verge of a rebirth with the arrival of newsmen and representatives of companies, especially Spanish. It is said that the American multinational giant, the Pepsi-Cola Company, is waiting for the right moment.

Dr Elias Maho, a surgeon, is a patron at the Ranton Hotel. Arrested on several occasions, released, placed under house arrest, he ended up by binding himself the director of Malabo's general hospital. Using various language he described the doctors' being hounded "like squirrels" by the repressed regime. "I myself," he said, "have forgotten even the medical vocabulary. But I have retrieved my old reflexes and I practice my profession." He does not find words to describe the lamentable state of the hospital: "Come and visit tomorrow morning," he said.

The hospital? It consists of some 20 Chinese, East European, and Guinean doctors and five nuns. But there are barely 40 or so patients. In the operating room there are no oxygen containers, no masks. In the X-ray room only one old unit is still operational, as if by a miracle. The walls and floor are stained with blood spots. In the wards the patients are lying on mattresses at floor level. Medicines reach the hospital in tiny trickles.

The same miserable conditions prevail in the schools. At the Santa Teresita primary school storm lamps are used for lighting. The reason is not that there is a shortage of oil in Fernando Poo. The cut in the number of automobiles and the excessive price of gasoline set by Nguema Masie had resulted in the accumulation of considerable stocks. The first measure of the new government was to lower its price from 130 to 18 ekuele and traffic resumed.

China has an obvious presence in Equatorial Guinea. Chinese products are sold everywhere and Chinese cooperation programs personnel continue imperturbably in their work. East European citizens on their part try to be inconspicuous. I saw two Soviets and half a dozen Romanians, but the North Koreans and Cubans continue to be invisible even though officials assured us that they are indeed around.

While the orientation of the domestic policy of the new regime is still not clear, the members of the Supreme Military Council do not allow any uncertainty to hover over their future foreign policy. It involves a shift toward the West and first toward Madrid. In Bata, capital of the Rio Muni region, the lieutenant who is gathering evidence for the trial of Nguema Masie said: "We are sons of Spain."

Despite 11 years of dictatorship, the Equatorial Guineans do not evidence publicly any hatred for Masie. The new regime has released all political prisoners but has also allowed the kin of Nguema Masie to remain free. All in all, some 60 of the dictator's partisans including about a dozen officers have been arrested and jailed together with their former master at the Carcel Modelo [prison] in Bata. Following the newsmen, the idlers strive to get a glimpse of former President Nguema Masie lying on a mattress covered with a blue sheet in one of the cells, secured by a simple lock and guarded casually by seven soldiers.

On the walls of the cell were graffiti which the prisoners of the prone man had carved with their nails. Under the eyes of Nguema Masie was the farewell message of a sentenced man who had returned from Gabon 2 years earlier. Under his name and the date of his incarceration he had written: "Lord, something to eat..."

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CSO: 4400

IVORY COAST

BRIEFS

GENDARMERIE SCHOOL CLASSES--On 10 August, the various Gendarmerie School classes received their names. Ten officer candidates were named the "Probite" class; 219 second year NCOs were sworn in at the same time and named the "Sergeant-Major (adjudant) Kahou Kah Auguste" class. Finally, 209 NCOs in their first year were named the "Sergeant (marchal des logis) Banti-Bigoore." [Paris AFRIQUE DEFENSE in French Sep 79 p 14]

ARMED FORCES SCHOOL CLASSES, GRADUATES--Sixteen new officers of the class "Action", whose sponsor is Supreme Commander of the Gendarmerie Nationale General N'Daw, received on 27 July their commissions as second lieutenants. The class consisted of 5 Ivorians, 5 Togolese, 5 Gabonese and one Nigerien. The new cadet class, named "Vaillance", are sponsored by General Ouassenan Kone. The "Action" class was the 11th to graduate from the Armed Forces School. Preceding classes were: "Houphouet-Boigny", 1963; "Servir", 1964; "Unite", 1966; "Honneur et patrie", 1968; "Loyaute", 1970; "Fidelite", 1972; "Vigilance", 1975; "Integrite", 1976; "Perseverance", 1977; and "Courage"; 1978. Thus far the school has trained: 175 Ivorian, 35 Gabonese, 9 Senegalese, 12 Togolese, 7 Central African, 6 Chadian, and 8 Nigerien officers. [Paris AFRIQUE DEFENSE in French Sep 79 p 14]

NAVAL APPOINTMENTS--Lt Kone Fako has taken command of "l'Elephant" (Patrol); Lt Dakouri Ephrem, of the BSC [expansion unknown, possibly coast-guard ship] "Le Valeureux"; Lt Jg Lokpo Pascal, of the "Vigilant" and Lt Jg Megna Diomande of "l'Intrepide" (Patrol). [Text] [Paris AFRIQUE DEFENSE in French Sep 79 p 14]

CSO: 4400

BRIEFS

TERRORIST ATTACKS FROM SA--Maseru--Lesotho Prime Minister Chief Leabua Jonothan claimed here that terrorists responsible for recent bombing incidents in Lesotho had used South African territory as a "spring-board" for their attacks.--H.A.N.S. [Text] [Salisbury THE HERALD in English 6 Oct 79 p 1]

CSO: 4420

MADAGASCAR

BRIEFS

JAPANESE AID--Foreign Minister Richard and Japanese Ambassador Nakamura yesterday signed three technical economic cooperation accords granting Madagascar nonreimbursable aid for establishing a stock-raising center in Antsiranana, acquiring rice to stabilize food production, and purchasing motorized cultivators and water pumps. [Tananarive MADAGASCAR-MATIN in French 19 Sep 79 pp 1, 2]

CSO: 4400

BRIEFS

LUCIA HAMUTENYA ABROAD--Windhoek: Swapo's former Secretary for Legal Affairs, Miss Lucia Hamutenya, has left for abroad. Miss Hamutenya was held for several months under emergency proclamation AG 26, and was recently released. It is believed that Miss Hamutenya will be in London for at least a year, and the reasons for her protracted visit is not known. Swapo's Secretary for Information and Publicity, Mr Mokganedi Tlhabanello, also left for abroad recently, and it is believed he is at present in the United States. [Text] [Windhoek WINDHOEK OBSERVER in English 15 Sep 79 p 16]

BECKER OPPOSED TO CONSTITUTION--Windhoek: The leader of the Herstigte Nasionale Party in South West Africa, Mr Sarel Becker, said this week that he would "fight like a lion" to oppose the drawing up of a constitution in the National Assembly when it sits on 14 October. Mr Becker said he would not vacate his seat in the assembly if it came to constitution-making, but would propose amendments, and oppose such a move, with everything at his disposal. Before anything else was done, the HNP leader went on, ethnic elections should be held throughout South West Africa, and once these elections had been held, the population groups could negotiate with one another. Mr Becker said that whatever happened, the HNP would continue to fight for a "white state" under all circumstances. He said he would be addressing a meeting in Springbok on 3 October. [Text] [Windhoek WINDHOEK OBSERVER in English 15 Sep 79 p 17]

NCC HIRES TJONGARERO--Former vice-chairman of Swapo, Mr Danny Tjongarero, has been appointed as a temporary consultant to the Namibia Council of Churches. This had been done because he had difficulty in finding a livelihood, and a consultant was needed, the chairman of the NCC, Bishop James Kauluma said today. Mr Tjongarero will be responsible for investigating the feasibility of establishing a department of communications for the NCC, Bishop Kauluma said. The task should be finished by the end of the year. Bishop Kauluma was reacting to reports that Mr Tjongarero's appointment had caused discontent in the ranks of the NCC. He said he had read in the press that vice-chairman of the NCC, Landespropst Kauffenstein, had written him a letter condemning Mr Tjongarero's appointment. "But I have had no official communication from him to say that he disagrees with the appointment. We were together during the weekend and he

had said nothing." Landespropst Kauffenstein is said to have objected on the grounds that the NCC would lose its credibility because Mr Tjongarero was a leader of Swapo. He said it might appear that the NCC was camouflaging Mr Tjongarero's political activities, as at the closing of the Swapo offices in Windhoek, Mr Tjongarero said the organization would in future operate "underground." Bishop Kauluma said Mr Tjongarero had approached the NCC for a permanent job. He had apparently experienced difficulty in obtaining an appointment in Windhoek after his sudden dismissal as deputy chairman of Swapo last week. [Text] [Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 26 Sep 79 p 1]

CENTRAL PERSONNEL INSTITUTE--The combination of a legal background and public administration comes in handy for Mr Jimmy Vermaak as Director of the Central Personnel Institution (CPI). The institution, which is a branch office of SA's Public Service Commission, came into being on 2 January. Its main function will be to organize a central government service for SWA which will operate independently from SA as far as possible. For Mr Vermaak, this task is also his main interest. The second main aim of the CPI is to do all the other preparatory work for the establishment of an independent Public Service Commission for the territory. It will in the process develop its own office to serve as the executive organ for that commission. The third main aim of the commission is to start recruiting and training SWA inhabitants for permanent appointments in the territory's own public service. [Rianne Fourie] [Excerpt] [Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 28 Sep 79 p 4]

SEASONAL BEEF SHORTAGE--A seasonal shortage of beef is curtailing production at Enok's Elooole meat factory at Oshakati, a spokesman for Enok said yesterday. The factory at the moment only slaughters cattle to meet local demand. The shortage is attributed to the poor condition of the cattle in Ovambo and Kaokoland at this time of the year. Operations will again be back to normal in January 1980 when the cattle should be in a better condition. The export contracts are not being affected by the shortage. [Text] [Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 28 Sep 79 p 5]

HEALTH, WELFARE DIRECTOR--The Administrator General, Dr Gerrit Viljoen, has announced that Dr J. A. Oosthuysen, Director of Health Services of the Administration, has been appointed Director of the new Directorate of National Health and Welfare of South West Africa with effect from October 1979. [Text] [Windhoek THE WINDHOEK ADVERTISER in English 28 Sep 79 p 5]

CSO: 4420

REUNION

BRIEFS

LIBERATION MOVEMENT--The Movement for the Liberation of Reunion (MPLR) has been created from the ashes of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Organization of Reunion (OCMLR) led by Georges Sinamale. [Excerpt] [Paris DEMAIN L'AFRIQUE in French 24 Sep 79 p 21]

CSO: 4400

BRITISH CONSTITUTION ULTIMATUM ALLAYS WHITE FEARS

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 7 Oct 79 p 1

[Text] Britain's "like it or lump it" constitution, presented to the Lancaster House conference last Wednesday goes a long way to allay white fears.

It guarantees both the remittability of pensions and compensation for land and entrenches separate voters' rolls and the Declaration of Rights.

It owes, in fact, more to the efforts of Zimbabwe Rhodesia's constitutional experts than it does to either British legal opinion or Patriotic Front demands.

The 12-section Declaration of Rights, for example, simply rewords and repeats Chapter 8 of the 1979 Constitution.

It retains the principles of detention, in-camera trials, and the prevention of publication of material that is deemed to be against the interests of "defense, public safety, public order, public morality or public health": all issues which past British Governments have condemned as "undemocratic."

It enshrines the continuation of African customary and tribal law, and makes the same point of outlawing discrimination on grounds of "race, tribe, place of origin, political opinions, color or creed" (and, like the Zimbabwe Rhodesian Constitution, leaves out "sex").

It also specifically provides for extradition, which was skillfully skirted in the 1979 Constitution.

On the land issue--a major source of Patriotic Front dissatisfaction--the declaration makes it abundantly clear that any acquisition by the state "will be lawful only on condition that the law provides for the prompt payment of adequate compensation...are the acquisition is contested, that a court order is obtained.

Furthermore, "compensation paid in respect of loss of land to anyone who is a citizen of or ordinarily resident in Zimbabwe...will, within a

reasonable time, be remittable to any country outside Zimbabwe, free from any deduction, tax or charge in respect of its remission."

Sub-section 5 of Section 5 (freedom from deprivation of property) is equally unequivocal:

"It will be made clear...that the property covered by this constitutional guarantee includes rights, whether vested or contingent, of individuals to receive benefits under a law, contract or scheme relating to the payment of pension benefits."

The Declaration of Rights is fully justifiable and is entrenched for 10 years. Any amendment must be passed unanimously by the House of Assembly and by not less than two-thirds of the Senate.

This must obviate, to quite some extent, white reaction to the composition of the House of Assembly: 100 seats, of which 80 are to be elected on the common voters' roll and 20 on the white voters' roll (which includes Coloreds and Asians).

Separate representation is entrenched for 7 years, and any amendment will require a unanimous vote in the House and not less than two-thirds in the Senate.

The Senate will consist of 40 members: 10 elected by white-roll House of Assembly members; 14 elected by common roll Members of Parliament; 10 elected by the Council of Chiefs; and six nominated by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister.

This replaces the 1979 Constitution's provisions for 10 black senators, 10 whites and 10 chiefs.

On the much-vexed subject of commissions (for the Public Service, the Judiciary and the security forces), the British have prevailed on the principle of non-independence: there is vested authority for the president to give direction.

Members of the commissions, while appointing to vacancies only those individuals "most efficient and suitable," are however, "required to take account of any general policy directions given by the president which are designed to achieve a suitable representation of the various component groups of the population in the service of the state."

Support

Bills to amend the commission structure, the Legislature, the Judiciary or the constitution itself will require the support of at least 70 Members of the House of Assembly and not less than two-thirds of the Senate.

In all other respects the new constitution is the same as the previously proposed British constitution: it has taken no cognizance of Patriotic Front objections.

Only one major point has been removed: the inclusion of "a scheme to encourage officers of the Public Service and members of the Police Force, Army, Air Force or Prison Service who were in office prior to 1 October 1978, to continue to serve on and after a specified date."

Government sources, however, believe that this will rank alongside issues such as arrangements for transition and a new election in separate negotiations due to be discussed at the conference after agreement has been reached on the constitution.

CSO: 4420

BILL TO DEPRIVE WHITES OF STATE PENSIONS GAINS GROUND

RF Opposition Losing

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 6 Oct 79 p 1

[Text]

RHODESIAN FRONT MPs have all but lost a bitter struggle to stop the House of Assembly passing a Bill which would deprive white Zimbabwe Rhodesians of the right to a State pension.

The Old Age Pensions Repeal Bill, which was first published at the end of August, came as a big shock to potential pensioners and voluntary organisers of homes for the aged.

Under the present Act, old age pensions are payable after a means test only to European, Asian or Coloured citizens over the age of 60 and amount to a maximum of \$70 a month, reports Iana.

The Bill, which is set to receive its third reading in the House of Assembly next week, has produced the most acrimonious debate the House has seen since the majority-rule Parliament convened in June.

If it becomes law, the Bill will withdraw all rights to a non-contributory State pension as from the beginning of

next year, although pensions already granted will be maintained.

The Bill has been opposed at every stage by white MPs who fear that impoverished old people will in future have to go cap in hand to Government bureaucrats to ask for what was once theirs by right.

Mr Mark Partridge, for many years a Minister in the Rhodesian Front Government and now the RF Member for Highlands, has been in the forefront of the assault on the new Pensions Bill.

VIOLATION?

He told the House this week that he believed the Bill violated rights guaranteed in the Constitution and demanded that it be withdrawn and replaced by a charter for the elderly of all races. He believed the Bill would be rejected by the Senate's Legal Committee in the Upper House.

The bitterness of the debate intensified yesterday when the Bill's introducer, Minister of Manpower Senator Dr Aaron Mutiti, refused to read out the whole text of a legal opinion by the Attorney-General.

He read the last paragraph of the opinion, in

which the Attorney-General stated he believed the Bill to repeal the Old Age Pensions Act had been correctly presented.

But Dr Mutiti inflamed white MPs by refusing to read the rest of the document, insisting it would be "irrelevant" to do so.

"It's not irrelevant, it's terribly important," retorted Rhodesian Front Chief Whip Mr John Landau. If Dr Mutiti refused to let the House have the full text, "I can only draw my own inference", Mr Landau said.

Another Rhodesian Front MP, Wing Commander Roy Simmonds, accused Dr Mutiti of irresponsibility and demanded to know the Attorney-General's findings.

"It is my duty to investigate all aspects of legislation, irrespective of what the Minister thinks is irrelevant. He cannot decide what is relevant," Wing Commander Simmonds said. "I believe my rights are being tampered with."

The white MPs called for divisions on Wednesday and yesterday during various stages of the Bill's passage, but no vote was taken as there were fewer than 10 in opposition.

Although four of the 17 white MPs are in London for the constitutional talks, the small number present when divisions were called indicates a reluctance on the part of some Members to clash head-on with their black colleagues.

The only African MP to back the whites' stand was Mr Timothy Nkhosho of the United National Federal Party, who said the proposed legislation would "whittle away any confidence that the white community still has in this country." He believed persons should be extended to Africans rather than abolished.

Non-Racial Basis

Salisbury THE HERALD in English 6 Oct 79 p 6

[Editorial: "Aid to the Aged"]

[Text]

IT MUST be accepted that old-age pensions cannot continue on a racial basis. RF Members in the House are therefore proposing that blacks be included in the present Act rather than repeal the Act and throw everyone on to public assistance.

The Government's answer is that the country could not afford to widen the scope of the Act, and also that it would be administratively impossible to include, for example, TFL residents.

From this it must follow that, if the Act were repealed, aid to Africans would continue much as now, with needy cases getting help from Social Welfare.

And the supposition must be that aid to whites, Coloureds and Asians would also be little different, but would bear a different name, because the Minister, Dr Matiti, has said assistance would be given on a standards related basis with the present pension serving as a yardstick.

The practical effects of the repeal of the Act, for some considerable time to come, should therefore be slight if three criteria really were observed (in passing, there is presumably nothing to prevent a government reducing an old-age pension or altering the qualifications to earn it).

The present pension requires a means test; so would future requests for assistance. What is needed is a method of assessing payment which would not embarrass the applicant, and firm guidelines to officials to ensure that the customary standard of living could be maintained.

BRITISH MUST MAKE PEACE NEGOTIAL STATE

Saturday THE HERALD in England 7 Dec 74 p 12

[Editorial: "Resolution Sent for Them ALL in London"]

[Text]

THESE are the sort of words or deeds that at the Lancaster House constitutional talks — an event which for the last couple of weeks has been a big event, despite the existence of a rift.

The leader of the Zimbabwe Rhodesian delegation, Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, has welcomed the acceptance of the British proposals embodied in all in The Sunday Mail column in principle and goes further by agreeing to new elections provided conditions are met.

Throughout the conference the British have been demanding compromise, compromise and more — one would say surrender — but now it is their turn to get their money and courage on the line.

The other delegates involved in the talks, the Patriotic Front, has said a few hours left in which to give to us or say to the British proposals. That will be the moment of truth, not only for Mugabe and his people, but for David Carrington and the British Government.

It may be that the P.F. under consideration grows from the tradition, may get or we will have decided on how the constitution is to be implemented. But if the answer is no to the British, and that means the War is well, will have a double impact on the Rhodesian side and the Zimbabwe side.

The Prime Minister's latest concession — to hold new elections "under the authority of the British Government"—meets every condition for "positive" majority rule. What more can be asked of him or the people of this country?

The British must now lift sanctions and allow the process they have set out to be put in motion. Failure to do so means that the constitutional plan will have little or no hope of acceptance in this country. Recognition can come after the election but sanctions must go now.

On what grounds could the British say no, or delay, on the lifting of economic barriers? Only that the war has not ended. But this would mean allowing the Patriotic Front a quarter of one which the British said no delegation would be allowed to exercise.

This week will put that issue to the test.

Black and whites in the delegation, and in the country itself, must be united in their determination not to give in until the British Government concedes what is only right and fair — the lifting of sanctions in return for acceptance of the new constitution and round two elections.

What must be avoided is internal rift which would play into the hands of the enemies of Zimbabwe Rhodesia.

BRIEFS

YOUTH ORGANIZATION PLANNED--A national youth organization is to be set up within the next few weeks by the Ministry of Social Affairs, Youth and Rehabilitation. This was announced yesterday by the Deputy Minister of Social Affairs, Mr David Mutasa, at the opening in Bulawayo of the newly completed Isinga Young People's Center. "Today's adults have a better understanding of the needs of young people," he said. [Text] [Salisbury THE HERALD in English 7 Oct 79 p 4]

BY-ELECTION NOMINATIONS--A nomination court will sit in Chaplin Building, Salisbury, on 24 October to receive nominations of candidates to fill the vacancy in the House of Assembly caused by the murder of Mr T. G. de Klerk, MP for Lundi. If a by-election becomes necessary it will be held on Friday 30 November. The white voters' roll was closed on 30 September, states today's Government Gazette. [Text] [Salisbury THE HERALD in English 8 Oct 79 p 1]

OPPOSITION DEMANDING ABOLITION OF ONCAD

Paris DEMAIN L'AFRIQUE in French 10 Sep 79 pp 57, 58

[Article by Moriba Magassouba, special correspondent: "Should ONCAD Be Abolished?"]

[Text] "Bilaye khaliss nekhna, kham na tchi dara. Souma tchi amone sakou, douma tala nalaw yaye, douma tala nalaw"--"It is good to have money. If I had a bag full of it I would no longer sleep at all." These lyrics from a popular song by the "Etoile" of Dakar, one of the best-known bands of the Senegalese capital, a widespread airing to the largest public funds embezzlement case ever discovered in Senegal.

The magnitude of the amount embezzled--nearly 1 billion CFA francs--the size of the company through which the scandal was engineered (it has an annual budgetary allocation of 100 billion CFA francs), and the identity of the agents involved--minor officials paid practically at the level of the Inter-occupational Minimum Growth Wage--confer on this "scandal" a dimension not to be compared with the customary and frequent cases involving the misappropriation of public funds. And when it is known that ONCAD [National Office of Cooperation and Assistance for Development], which has once again attracted the attention of Senegalese public opinion, has for years been the subject of lively controversy (it was the favorite target of attorney Abdoulaye Wade, leader of the Senegalese Democratic Party [PDS], during the latest electoral campaign in January-February 1978), one will easily imagine the consequences bound to be entailed by what some no longer hesitate to call the "scandal of the century!"

Even if the Senegalese authorities strive to dedramatize "the affair," represented practically as the result of a simple "passing duty" for the famous accounts audit committee attached to Senegal's Supreme Court, they nevertheless suggest that the court case brought against the defendants will be "pressed to its conclusion forcefully." "It is the only way," Djibril Sene, minister of rural development, explained, "to force a change of mentality in this sector of activity in order to safeguard the interests of the agricultural producer and the state."

But the promise--or threat--of exemplary sanctions does not in any way seem to have dissipated the concern which shows through the problem and which recurs as a leitmotiv in all conversations: How could simple weighers at a cooperative manage to embezzle so much money? This is a question which soon turns into insinuation and even accusation: "If the small fry was able to misappropriate a billion CFA francs, what kind of money can the big shots embezzle?" Numerous complicities are then mentioned.

The government press is explicit: ONCAD is a "monster" whose onerous machinery and structural deficiencies make all kinds of fraudulent operations possible. Accordingly, the weighers and supervisors of some of the dozens of cooperatives for which ONCAD serves as cadre have profited to a large extent from the "facilities" offered by the machinery: The possibility to have available twice the amount of credits mandated by the size of the "co-op" and the waiver of demands for the restitution of the funds not committed for purchases from the producer...thus establishing a veritable system for pumping funds out of the peasant and the taxpayer. One is obviously very far here from the customary thumb on the scale familiar in every African countryside and through which the peasants continue to be victimized when they take their crops to market. A "brain" had to plan the operation. The director of ONCAD's data processing department was not the least qualified to "program" the theft.

Conspicuous consumption is a very Senegalese shortcoming. Their maintenance --for all the world to see of a lavish standard of living out of a wage barely above the Interoccupational Minimum Growth Wage level (18,000 CFA francs) gave away the crooked weighers who had spent hundreds of millions of CFA francs in their purchase of automobiles, freezers, Empire-style or Louis XV style furniture, fine wines and champagne, and in the staging of "khavores," those famous Senegalese orgies.

But even before the completion of the investigation undertaken in the Sine Saloum region, the man-in-the-street is wondering whether probes will also be undertaken in the other regions of the country at Thies, Louga, in eastern Senegal, Casamance, and especially at Diourbel, the bastion of the powerful Mourid brotherhood. "If the affair remains confined to the Sine Saloum region," the monthly periodical ANDE SOPI noted (one of its founders is no other than Mamadou Dia, former Senegalese prime minister, additionally considered as the promoter of the cooperative sector in Senegal), "no one will be able to prevent the Senegalese from believing that a political settling of accounts is going on in the region" (Editor's note: Recall the Babacar Ba affair). The disclosure by the government daily LE SOLEIL of the fact that the records at ONCAD were destroyed seems to be slated to check action of great scope. This new element has not failed to increase the doubts of the opposition as to the government's resolve to undertake a true housecleaning in a sector where embezzlements are standard practice.

"To believe that the government established ONCAD only so that people might steal from it is to give evidence of perversion," L'UNITE AFRICAINE, organ of the Senegalese Socialist Party, replied. Without denying the misappropriations, L'UNITE called on the "Senegalese people" to reject the accusations leveled against the regime by its adversaries. "How should one explain," the weekly organ wondered, "the forbearance evidenced by the Senegalese people in the face of numerous deficiencies witnessed in this organization?"

But the government, which does not manifest excessive ardor any more than it does great haste in scrutinizing all the accounts of ONCAD, feels that the "true problem is elsewhere." "Elsewhere" means at ONCAD itself, its structures, and "the apparent facility with which funds are embezzled there," L'UNITE AFRICAINE noted. The latter also mentioned the burden of this "vast bureaucratic machinery" with 11 specialized directorates and which serves as cadre for several hundred cooperatives active in such diverse sectors as agriculture, livestock raising, transportation, market gardening, fishing, consumption, housing, and construction. These cooperatives, which include some 450,000 members, involve nearly 2 million individuals, that is, about 40 percent of the Senegalese population.

Should ONCAD be abolished? Beyond the "affair" of the one billion CFA francs it is in the last analysis indeed the problem of that organization's survival that is at stake. Unanimous opposition demands that the "monster" be eliminated. As for the government, it reportedly has been considering for a long time now broad reform that would be translated into a breakup of ONCAD and into the introduction of private capital--"under pressure from the World Bank," ANDE SOPI noted parenthetically. Let's see. In the last analysis it seems at any rate that the publicity surrounding the "scandal of the century" is not completely fortuitous.

2662

CSO: 4400

NRP LEADER PRAISES BOTHA STATEMENTS, AWAITS RESULTS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 2 Oct 79 p 7

[Text]

GRAHAMSTOWN — Mr Vause Raw, leader of the New Republic Party, has welcomed the Prime Minister's new approach to politics and the atmosphere of hope for a new deal which he had created.

Speaking at a public meeting in Grahamstown yesterday, Mr Raw said if it produced the sort of deal South Africa really needed, he did not care who got the credit.

"What I am interested in is to see a safe and happy future for my children and grandchildren and for all the people of our country.

"I will thus obviously support the Prime Minister in anything he does which can achieve this."

However, as leader of the "only party which could, or would, be accepted as an alternative government by the electorate", it was his duty to analyse and evaluate the substance behind the impressions and expectations

the Prime Minister had created and to determine whether it was enough to meet the hopes he had aroused.

Could his new deal achieve the sort of future South Africa desperately sought? The Prime Minister had now started something he could not stop and if he failed to meet those expectations would plunge the country into a disaster of frustrated hopes from which it could be almost impossible to emerge without chaos.

"It is not surprising that the sheer heresy — in terms of Nationalist history — of some of his new attitudes has sparked lyrical adulation and even euphoria in both Government and opposition Press.

"In this atmosphere it is probably foolhardy to question or dare to even try to break the spell. But I have never run away from doing the unpopular when I believe it is my duty in the interests of the country," Mr Raw said.

The NRP leader said he had been asked what he

would do now the Prime Minister had taken over his policy.

"This assumes — incorrectly — that the premise itself is true.

"I have to know exactly what the new deal means before I start cheering.

"The right approach, yes. But the answer?

"The talks of a constellation for consultation and economic co-operation with 250 businessmen to work it out. But there is a fundamental qualification: No sharing of power and no joint decision-making.

Mr Raw said much as he wished it were the dawn of a real new era, he was afraid that what had really happened was only the sacrificial slaughter "of a few aged and barren sacred cows which have outlived their time".

The herd itself lived on and the sacred bull of separate development reigned supreme over it.

MILITARY CALL-UP PROCEDURES DESCRIBED

Pretoria PARATUS in English Jul 79 p 11

[Text] "Each and every country needs the services and assistance of every young and able-bodied man, and South Africa is no exception. With the international and political scene as it is, South Africa needs the services of its young male members in its Defense Force.

"It will be the services and duties of these men to protect our borders and to lend aid to the men who make the final important decisions regarding the operations in protecting our borders. It is not only an honor, but a duty to do ones National Service. The registration and call-up instructions are of the utmost importance to these men as well as to their country."

These were the words of Col G. C. van Rooyen, SSO National Service Control, who is one of the main people concerned to try and satisfy the needs and requirements of each and every National Serviceman. It is up to him and Brig C. C. van der Westhuizen, the Registering Officer, who is appointed by the Minister of Defense in a statutory capacity, and their staff, to ensure that National Servicemen are allotted to posts and appointments for which they are trained.

The Registering Officer, SADF, is responsible to contact all the Chiefs of the various Arms of Service to ascertain what they require of the new intakes. He then compiles a letter to the Minister of Defense, stating clearly the numbers and figures of NSMs to be called up for the following year (January and July 1980).

The Chiefs of the various Arms of Service, then furnish him with the corps, units and which intake the NSMs should be allotted to. In many cases, certain units only have a January intake.

Number

To ensure the correct posting, white South African Citizens who are in their 16th year are required to register as National Servicemen and obtain their Defense Force number. This is to make them eligible for National Service.

The following year, they are sent a questionnaire. The completion of this questionnaire is vitally important and can be detrimental to those who fail to do so. The information obtained will show whether the person concerned is at school or at an institute of higher education, whether he intends studying further, his present educational qualifications, names of his next of kin and his postal address. The latter part of the information is of the utmost importance, as this serves as the 'point of contact.' If a change of address is made, the person concerned has to advise the Registering Officer within 14 days of moving, or he is liable to prosecution.

Col van Rooyen said that not enough emphasis could be placed on the completion of the forms. If the forms were completed correctly, it was always so much easier to post NSMs out where they were urgently required or where they would like to do their training. But, as Col van Rooyen said, he often had problems getting the questionnaires returned to him.

At the beginning of April 1979, 102,000 questionnaires were sent out, and the date the questionnaires were due for return was 27 April, but this date was extended to 11 May as between 25,000 and 30,000 were still outstanding.

Difficult

Col van Rooyen also stated that it was extremely difficult to satisfy each and every NSM's requirements. For this reason certain percentages were given to each of the four Arms and Service of the Defense Force. The Army obtained 84.4 percent of the intake; the SA Air Force 8.7 percent; the SA Navy 2.1 percent and the Medical Service 4.8 percent. By doing this, most NSM's requirements were met, even if they did not ask for that specific arm of service.

Col van Rooyen stressed the importance of sending the questionnaire in before the due date. National Servicemen who did not comply, would be doing an injustice to themselves, as they would be allocated at random, usually to the Infantry.

The questionnaire was formulated by Col van Rooyen and his staff. The basic formula, he said, would always remain the same, although they aimed to improve it comprehensively every year. The brochure that accompanied the questionnaire explained to a NSM all he wanted to know about the SADF, including his salary (which was always of importance to any NSM!)

After the questionnaires are completed, they are fed into a computer to process certain categories. These categories include the following:

(The SAAF have the following priorities:)

Priority 1: Applicant must have a civilian flying license, he must have SADF affiliation whereby either of his parents are in the SADF, he must have a hobby connected to the SAAF. He must be employed at Atlas Aircraft Corporation or SA Airways.

Priority 2: He must have a civilian flying license.

Priority 3: He must have SADF affiliation, or a hobby with SAAF orientation.

Priority 4: The applicant applied to be allotted to the SAAF.

The Navy's priorities are as follows:

Priority 1: (a) The applicant must be residing in one of the following magisterial districts: Cape Town (105), Bellville (100), Simonstown (112), Wynberg (121), Port Elizabeth (173), East London (170), Durban (210), Johannesburg (395), Pretoria (370). He must have SADF affiliation whereby either of his parents are in the SADF; he must be affiliated to the Sea Cadets; be an aqua reconnoitre or be employed by the mercantile navy; must have a hobby that is naval-orientated and must participate in certain naval sports (sailing, rowing, surfing, water-polo, deep-sea diving etc).

Priority 2: (a) He must be a resident in one of the following magisterial districts: 105, 170, 173, 210, 370, 121, 100, 112 or 395; he must have SADF affiliation; he must belong to a naval organization; must have a naval-orientated hobby or sport.

Priority 3: Must be a resident in one of the following magisterial districts: 100, 112, 121, 105, 170, 173, 210, 370 or 395; must have affiliation to the SADF; or belong to a naval organization or have a naval-orientated hobby or sport.

Priority 4: (a) He must be residing in one of the following magisterial districts: 100, 112, 121, 105, 170, 173, 210, 370 or 355.

Priority 5: (a) Must have some kind of affiliation to the SADF; must belong to a naval organization; must have a naval-orientated hobby or sport.

Priority 6: (a) Must have some kind of affiliation to the SADF; must belong to a naval organization or must have a naval-orientated hobby or sport.

Priority 7: (a) Must have some kind of affiliation to the SADF or belong to a naval organization or have a naval-orientated hobby or sport.

Priority 8: All those applicants who applied to be allotted to the Navy but who do not have any of the previously mentioned qualifications.

Army

In the case of the Army, the priorities are not that stringent as they are mainly concerned with the language, command, corps, educational qualifications and force number of the National Servicemen. This information also applies to the SAAF and SA Navy if no other information is available.

When all this information has been obtained, the questionnaires are codified. This constitutes the bulk of the paperwork and Col van Rooyen has some 40 people working through the sections of the questionnaires to ascertain that as far as possible all NSMs are correctly posted.

Just to keep the rest of his staff on their toes, Col van Rooyen has appointed a special section of workers to trace those people who fail to return their questionnaires. As he himself says: "It is now virtually impossible to avoid National Service."

CSO: 4420

BUTHELEZI SAYS INKATHA, ANC HAVE COMMON GOAL

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 2 Oct 79 p 13

[Text] Cape Town--Inkatha's links with the banned African National Congress have been strengthened and both remained committed to the liberation of South Africa, Chief Gatsha Buthelezi said here at the weekend.

Chief Buthelezi, Chief Minister of KwaZulu and leader of Inkatha, also said the Black man's position in South Africa had not changed since the Prime Minister Mr P. W. Botha's accession to power a year ago.

"I believe that while the ANC and Inkatha pursue different strategies, we are still committed to the liberation of South Africa. But differences in strategy should never be seen as a breaking point," he said.

Chief Buthelezi said that although the two organizations differed on issues such as the disinvestment debate, there was no reason for them to condemn each other.

"I appreciate that our brothers in exile see it as their role to make the racist regime in South Africa as uncomfortable as possible in the hope of them coming to the negotiating table with Blacks. But no leader whose leadership rests on the support of a constituency can hope to support disinvestment."

He said Blacks should mobilize to reject economic exploitation and the homeland policy, and suggested a "multi-strategy" approach.

Chief Gatsha said although he found recent government concessions such as the "Crossroads reprieve" a "hopeful gesture," the position of South African Blacks had not changed radically during the past year.

He found it disappointing that the homelands policy was going ahead.

"The only weapon that we Blacks have in this struggle is our economic muscle. We constitute 76 percent of the economically active population of South Africa.

"The more dependence on Blacks we can create for the South African economy, the greater will be the chances that we will finally be placed in a position where we can use that economic muscle, in order to negotiate with white South Africa for the liberation of our country," he said.

CS0: 4420

PILOT TRAINING PROCESS REVIEWED

Pretoria PARATUS in English Aug 79 pp 10, 11

[Article by Capt R. J. Swann, Public Relations Department, SAAF]

[Excerpt] All applications for flying training are thoroughly examined at Training Command and those candidates who meet the requirements will be called upon to undergo medical and psychological tests at the Military Medical Institute and Military Psychological Institute in Pretoria shortly after they have reported for their basic National Service training in the SA Defense Force. If they pass these tests, they will appear before a selection board. Candidates are considered from all arms of the SADF, that is Army, Air Force and Navy. Civilians may also apply for flying training but they are required to have already completed their National Service.

Successful candidates attend an Officers' orientation course at the SAAF College in Voortrekkerhoogte and on passing this phase, they report to Central Flying School at Dunnottar for a 30-week course on Harvard trainers. After the successful completion of this phase, the student pilots do a 30-week course on Impalas at Flying Training School at Langebaanweg. It is important for young men to have made up their minds about flying at an early age for applicants are required to have a Matriculation Certificate with English, Afrikaans and Mathematics as subjects. Their choice of subjects at school is, therefore, important. Cmdt H. D. van Wyngaard, the Chief Instructor at CFS, said: "It is essential for a person who wishes to fly to choose his matric subjects carefully. For instance, we do not insist that a candidate has Science and Geography as subjects but Physics and Geography will be of definite value to him when he has to study Aerodynamics, Meteorology and Navigation. A good general knowledge is also a prerequisite for we do not just choose men to fly an aircraft but are looking for good Officer material as well. Therefore leadership qualities are also essential.

As soon as the prospective pilots are called up to do their Officers' orientation course, they are made Candidate Officers. The young men who report to CFS have been found physically fit and have the mental ability to tackle the difficult academic course that is so closely related to flying and being an Officer in the SAAF.

"The medical tests that these chaps do at WML do not only determine the physical fitness of the candidate but will also determine to what age the person will remain fit. But one shouldn't get the impression that the SAAF requires supermen for flying training. Any healthy schoolboy who participates in sport should pass these medical tests" said Cmdr van Wyngaard.

"The aptitude tests that they are subjected to determine their ability to think logically and quickly. This could be an important factor later in the pilot's career. For example, fighter pilots have to think fast and react immediately in their particular flying environment."

The first phase of training at CFS is a ground phase in which the student pilots are given lectures in technical aviation subjects. These include the aircraft's airframe, engine and systems, aerodynamics, instruments, electrics and airmanship (the rules and regulations of flying). This phase lasts 6 weeks and precedes the flying phase on Harvards. When this phase has been completed, the student pilots have a basic knowledge of their Harvard training aircraft and of aviation generally.

The 40 initial flying training is done in conjunction with lectures and it is vitally important that the student pilots pay as much attention to their ground subjects as they do to their flying. A 60 percent pass mark is required for all subjects during their course and if they do not match up to the required standard in flying or on the academic side, they are permanently suspended from flying.

After 20 hours of dual instruction on Harvards the student pilot is expected to go solo but some students take longer to grasp the technique of flying and are given a few hours grace—but all pilots have to solo by 30 hours. By this time the student pilot must be able to fly the aircraft safely. When he has reached this stage, the military aspect of flying is introduced. That is, the pilot is taught to fly the aircraft to its limits. He is thus taught all forms of aerobatics, steep turns, forced landing procedures, short landings and short take-offs in all weather conditions. The reason for being able to fly the aircraft to its limits is that he might well be called upon to use his aircraft as a weapons' platform during operations.

After 60 hours the student is given a general flying test before he goes onto the final phase of his Harvard course at CFS. This phase includes navigation instrument flying, formation flying and night flying. At each stage of these types of flying he is given a progress test. By the time he has finished this phase he is able to fly an aircraft in any weather condition and has already had 120 hours flying experience.

Jet Aircraft

From CFS the students are transferred to Flying Training School, Langebaanweg, near Saldanha Bay in the Cape. This is where they will learn to

the jet aircraft, namely the Impala WS 1 which is a two-seater single-engine jet training aircraft. This phase of student pilot training, like the first phase at Dumottar, also lasts 11 weeks.

"The difference is, of course, that the student pilots are flying a faster jet engine aircraft," said Capt H. C. S. Brand, Chief Instructor at 101 Wing. "Because of the higher speed of the Impala, the student pilots are able to train more thoroughly, particularly on navigation exercises. During these exercises greater distances are flown than at Dumottar and most of the navigational landings are done at other airfields. This is excellent training for the students are unfamiliar with these airfields as they would not be in good stead as they experience a greater variety of flying conditions."

The 11th phase of training at Langebaanweg begins with a 4-week ground phase which includes the technical course on the Impala. Included in the total 11-week course is a practical survival training course and simulator flying which covers every facet of the pilot's instrument flying ability.

Students of 101 Wing are expected to go solo after 21 hours and solo 11 hours at Langebaanweg they have to solo after 11 hours and are given 1 more year after that. Capt Brand said: "If they have not gone solo in the Impala within 11 months they are permanently suspended from flying training. If a student pilot cannot fly the Impala within 16 hours then he is not a military aviator. The SAAF has spent a lot of money in the training at this stage, but that doesn't matter. We cannot lower our standards - in fact, we are constantly striving to improve our standards. This is one of our major points of quality."

Capt Brand said that the conditions at Langebaanweg were ideal for the advanced phase of the flying course for the same winter weather conditions are suitable for instrument flying and the student pilots thus become well experienced with their instruments and radar vectoring. Langebaan has very modern and sophisticated radar equipment and the student pilots receive excellent training in a modern and sophisticated flying environment.

After the 11-week course, a simulation and a practical survival course, the pilots are ready for their wings test. On passing this, they are fully qualified military pilots and are ready to be posted to the various squadrons throughout the SAAF. Because the SAAF's role is so diverse, the pilots of 101 Wing are well

to find themselves a variety of aircraft including Mach 2 Mirage IIIs and the Impala WS 1, various types of helicopters, large transport aircraft such as the Hercules and Transall, and maritime reconnaissance aircraft including the four-engine Avro Shackleton and the Phantom. They will also have the opportunity of flying these aircraft in the various squadrons.

MAIZE GROWERS REPRESENTATIVE BODY PROPOSED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 2 Oct 74 p 23

[Text] The end may be in sight of more than 10 years of bitter disagreement with the establishment of a central "maize-parliament" to represent all the farmers impartially.

It was learned yesterday that the scheme had been given the go-ahead by a committee made up of the two warring farmers' representative bodies known as "The South African Maize Speciality Organization."

The Sampi executive has already given its blessing to the scheme, which was evolved by a number of prominent Eastern Transvaal farmers.

Autonomous

The "maize-parliament," if brought into being, could give shape to a division in the industry by setting up a special representative body made up of 20 members.

Sampi and Samso would continue in their present form but each would be supported by its own members. The "maize-parliament" would be autonomous and would be the only official mouthpiece of the maize producers, awaiting government recognition.

The "parliament" would be empowered to decide whether or not to affiliate with the SA Agricultural Union.

Maize Prices

The difficulties in the industry started some 10 years ago when disgruntled maize farmers—with their focal point in the Western Cape State's Breda-ville area—established Sampi as their mouthpiece.

This was against a background of dissatisfaction over maize prices and the discovery that South African maize, exported at a loss, was being sold at a considerable profit by overseas buyers of the product.

Sampi, with government backing, came into the picture in an effort to restore the industry to an even keel, and ever since there had been a degree of antagonism between the bodies.

Under the "maize-parliament" scheme each producer will still have to pay his 5 cents a ton levy, but no stipulation will be made on enforced membership of any organization.

Support

A Sampi spokesman said that among the main privileges and duties of the "parliament" would be the election of its own chairman, the drawing up of its own constitution, the sole right to nominate producer-members of the Maize Board, the right to propose a realistic maize price and the right to handle any matters affecting the industry.

"Because Sampi's continued existence is not affected by the plan, with the concept coming from the producers whom Sampi considers to be the ultimate authority in the industry, the Sampi executive has promised the action committee its support.

"Sampi believes that every maize producer will support the idea of the 'parliament' because it will provide a haven for everyone who has the interests of the country at heart, and because the 'parliament,' free from coercion at any level, will negotiate and act only in the interests of maize producers."

CND) 4420

BRIEFS

INDIAN VOTER REGISTRATION--Durban--The supplementary registration of Indian voters which began on 1 October 1977 will close on 31 October. This is to allow for the preparation of the supplementary voters' lists for the forthcoming election of members of the South African Indian Council, which is expected to take place early in 1980. Application forms and envelopes are available at Magistrates' offices and the offices of the Department of Indian Affairs. [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 2 Oct 79 p 9]

YOUTH PREPAREDNESS PROGRAMS--The authorities--central Government and Provincial--are stepping up their backing of Youth Preparedness courses and gatherings in an attempt to hone the youth into a greater state of readiness as tension increases on the country's borders. The first of a series of mass meetings of youth--at which the accent is on military preparedness, discipline and concerted action--was held at Springs' Pan Brink Stadium on Saturday. Thousands of children were infused with the patriotic spirit as they watched military performances--including a full-scale helicopter mock rescue--and listened to massed band performances. The first preparedness program will be concluded with concerts in Pretoria tomorrow night and in Johannesburg on Thursday night. At then the four regional choirs of the Transvaal will combine into a 240-voice choir. Together with the National Symphony Orchestra they will perform a special piece on moral preparedness, called "The Assault" and composed by professor Anton Hartman. A spokesman for the Transvaal Education Department said yesterday the work portrayed the effect of an anarchist's moral and physical assault on people. [Keith Abendroth] [Excerpts] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 2 Oct 79 p 11]

CONDEMNATION ALTERNATIVE SERVICE IDEA--Bloemfontein--The movement in South Africa to establish a non-military service corps created a wonderful opportunity for others to misuse it so as not to do their duty, the deputy Minister of Defense, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said at Bloemfontein at the weekend. Mr Coetsee, who was speaking at a wreath-laying ceremony of the President Steyn Regiment, said: "Young men and soldiers hide behind theological and political principles, and the movement gives each coward and rotter (niksnut) a sanctuary where he can evade his responsibilities towards his country." [Text] [Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 2 Oct 79 p 7]

SOBHUZA ADDRESSES TRADITIONAL MEETING WITH NATION

King's Speech

Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 17 Sep 79 p 1

[Text] The Ngwenyama has issued a strong plea to the nation to support his government, advise and criticize it when necessary, but warned that such criticism must be sensible and constructive.

Addressing throngs of crowds on Saturday the King said the world was passing through a time of crisis and warned against trouble makers. The King said the government can only guide the nation successfully if it is fully supported by the people. Amid cries of approval from the crowd of about 10,000 people from all over the country, the world's longest reigning monarch warned that many nations have gone "rotten" because of "conflict of interests between the people and their leaders."

Speaking in parables, the King warned the people to be wary of strangers and those who preach the gospel of disorder. He asked the nation to avoid emotion in their approach to matters of national interest.

"This is your country--whichever way it goes you are bound to go with it," the King warned.

The Ngwenyama reiterated his long standing policy of peaceful negotiations and condemned violence as "an evil which is perpetrated by self minded persons."

He encouraged the people to present their arguments reasonably whenever they have something to say. He said people who have views to air should not give up easily if they feel ignored. "You must press your point until you are heard," he urged. The Ngwenyama said he preferred this approach to people grumbling behind closed doors.

The King thanked the nation for cooperation during the recent elections but advised that the election of Parliament was not an end in itself. He said it was only the beginning of a much more awesome task.

After Parliament the Ngwenyama spoke of a variety of subjects including corruption, prostitution, laxity and crime in general. The King said it has come to his notice that some Swazis, particularly landlords, lease out premises to complete strangers without making any attempts to find out something about their backgrounds. He said such landlords were only interested in the rents paid by these strangers. He warned that this was dangerous because some of these strangers may have bad motives for being in this country.

He warned that Swazis who are visited by such strangers should query these if they stay in their premises for too long and find out what their intentions are. He warned that such strangers sometimes take advantage of their hosts.

The 80 year old King expressed alarm at the increasing rate of armed robberies, prostitution, car stealing and drunkenness. Speaking on the question of drunkenness, the King said he was aware that some people had brought liquor with them to the meeting at the Royal Kraal. "Some of you are so drunk that they don't even understand what I am saying now," the Ngwenyama said.

He expressed concern at the increasing number of unlicensed beerhalls. The King said it has come to his notice that such illegal beerhalls were even found in the Royal village in Lobamba. He said he was angry that these people brought drunkenness and immoral behavior to the Royal Residence.

He issued a strong call for vigilance in stamping out "these evil practices." Expanding on the subject of drunkenness the King said a number of fatalities on the country's highways were caused by drunken driving and drunken pedestrians. He said at one time he waited for several hours hoping to get a visitor from another country. He said he was surprised and hurt when he learned that his visitor had been involved in an accident with a stray cow on the way.

"I have been told that some of these selfish stock owners complain about their animals being knocked down by vehicles, but what are they doing straying on public roads?" he asked.

The King also expressed alarm at the increasing number of armed robberies.

He said during the Trade Fair in Manzini, the police reported to him a record number of damaged and stolen cars. The King said the police have also reported to him a record number of butchers who run their businesses with the meat of stolen beasts. He alarmed crooked businessmen who register their businesses in the names of other people to avoid losing them when the law catches up with their crooked practices.

The King attacked gangsterism in general and said he was concerned that practices such as knife killings were on the increase. He said in the

past Swazis and Zulus were people of honesty and integrity. "But today Swazis are the big time criminals," he complained.

On the question of prostitution the King blamed parents who allow young girls to hang around bars at night. He said prostitution was so rife that it now goes unnoticed. He said such loose morality was new among Swazis.

Scores of people started milling into the Royal cattle byre through the southern and eastern gates at 3 p.m. on Saturday. Troops and police kept order as people, mostly men, pushed one another to get through the crammed gates.

The King arrived in the kraal at 3:45 p.m. and was greeted by the Royal salute "Bayethe!" and "Long live the King." Before the King spoke an aide warned chiefs against the practice of leaving meetings before the King. Riot police and troops cordoned the ceremonial cattle byre as the King delivered the 30 minutes long speech.

People's Problems

Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 24 Sep 79 p 1

[Text] The National Council and the Tinkundla completed consultations with the nation at the Royal Cattle Byre in Lobamba on Saturday.

The "libandla" (public) were released to go home by the chairman of the National Council, Prince Soziba and the Chairman of the Tinkundla, Mr Mndeni Shabalala on Saturday afternoon. They were acting on instructions from the Ngwenyama. Hundreds of people from different parts of the country spent a week holding meetings with the council and the tinkundla.

Traditional warriors danced outside the cattle byre to say farewell to one another after they had been discharged and thanked by the council and tinkundla for the contributions made during the meetings which started on Sunday 16 September after the King had addressed the nation and encouraged them to make suggestions to the government for the smooth running of the country and how to solve problems and avoid crime and political unrest.

During the meeting, a number of people, spoke strongly about women wearing slacks, lobola, corruption in high places and arrogance in the civil service. On the question of lobola, old men complained that men were cheating by paying lobola for their brides in the form of money, which is cheaper than paying actual cattle.

A suggestion that money for one lobola beast should be increased by 500 percent got overwhelming support from those who attended the meeting, mostly elderly men. The official money value per lobola beast was fixed at E20 by the King but people felt that this was out dated and should be increased to E100.

The E100 suggested by the old men is about the average price for an ordinary beast. It was felt that people were taking advantage of the E20 and selling beasts which made it cheaper. However, this suggestion is still to be examined by the King in Council who will decide whether to make it official or reject it. The King initially fixed the price money to E20 per beast because many fathers were greedy and charging their son in laws too much money in lobola for their daughters if they did not have actual cattle.

Women who wear slacks or trousers came under fire from the old men who attended the meeting. They associated the wearing of trousers with loose morality and urged the government to make legislation which would provide for the prosecution of such women. This suggestion was recently thrown out of Parliament.

An MP tried to pass a motion urging the Minister of Home Affairs to make the wearing of slacks or trousers by women illegal. This was rejected as unnecessary and interference with the freedom of the individual by Prince Gabheni, who was supported by the Prime Minister and other MPs. However, since it has been suggested at the meeting, the National Council and the tinkundla are expected to discuss it.

The men also complained that some government officials take advantage of their senior positions to interfere with the wives of junior officers, some in their own departments. They complained that this placed the junior officers in difficult positions at work.

The civil service was attacked for arrogance and rudeness to members of the public. People complained that the public are kept waiting for long hours in government offices while the officers concerned discussed private matters such as the sale of property on the telephone.

A number of other subjects of national interest were discussed during the meetings. However some people complained that some people who attended the meeting wasted too much time talking about trivial matters instead of subjects of national advancement which were more important at this stage of the country's economic and social development.

CSO: 4420

ASSEMBLY PASSES INCOME TAX AMENDMENT BILL

Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 21 Sep 79 p 1

[Text] The House of Assembly this week passed the Income Tax Amendment Bill which seeks to correct certain anomalies in the Income Tax Order of 1975.

The bill was introduced to the House when parliament came to session on Monday by Finance Minister, Mr J. S. M. Simelane on behalf of the Minister of Home Affairs, Prince Gabheni. Among others, the bill seeks to introduce a new definition for the Provident Fund, to extend the law in order to impose tax on income gained from commercial, scientific, industrial sectors, as well as handicraft work which has never been taxed before.

The bill also seeks to give more power to the taxation of money gained by shareholders, company directors, alimony and maintenance receipts. On the other hand the bill seeks to modify tax assessment on employers who contribute to pension funds established for their employees as well as any money spent for educational purposes for their employees.

It seeks to modify tax on certain investments made by the Swaziland Development Bank and Building Society. Members expressed the hope that the bill will help look into the anomalies especially those that have lost the country money for development purposes.

The house was opened with a full agenda including a motion by elected member Dr Sishayi Nxumalo that the Minister for Education reviews school fees, boarding fees, book costs, building fund charges and school uniforms with a view to making adjustments in order to lessen the increasing burden on parents.

Another MP, Mr A. S. V. Diamini, was scheduled to move a motion that the Minister of Finance investigate irregularities and dissatisfaction in the even distribution of loans from banks to Swazi farmers, all businessmen and all borrowers of money from such banks for acquiring and building houses. Mr J. M. Nkambule was to move a motion that the Prime Minister takes steps to see that vigilance is always kept in terms of the relevant general orders governing the promotion of civil servants.

Dr Sishayi Nxumalo was to move another motion that the Minister of Home Affairs "removes the last vestiges of discrimination and colonialism" by replacing the names of streets" with those more preferable to the Swazi.

The Minister for Education was asked to investigate means of promoting the siSwati language. The Minister of Home Affairs was asked to up-grade Mbabane, Manzini, Siteki, Nhlanguano and Piggs Peak to full town council status. The towns are currently controlled by the Home Office.

A number of questions for oral answers were tabled in parliament by back benchers. The Minister for Works, Power and Communications was asked to inform Parliament what steps were being taken towards the control of misuse of government vehicles and fuel. The minister was also asked to inform parliament if there has been an economic incline or decline in the Swaziland railways.

A number of questions were on the agenda about the SR including: whether the rate of dismissals has increased or decreased now that the SR is controlled by South Africans; whether such dismissals affected the SR, and if so what steps were being taken to eliminate them.

The Minister for Commerce, Industry, Mines and Tourism was asked to inform the house why rentals hired out by Visionhire in Swaziland are higher than those charged for the same sets also hired out by Visionhire in South Africa. The minister was also asked to consider taking steps to lift the monopoly granted to Salora as being the sole supplier of television and equipment in Swaziland.

The Minister for Home Affairs was asked to inform the house what steps were being taken to remove slums in the country's main centers. The Minister for Agriculture and Cooperatives was asked to inform the house what fuel arrangements have been made to enable farmers to work on their land this coming season.

The Minister for Education was asked to explain to parliament the delay in paying relieved teachers their pensions.

CSO: 4420

UNIVERSITY STUDY REVIEWS RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROBLEMS

Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 24 Sep 79 p 7

[Article by Breth Hilton-Barber]

[Text]

ALL is not well on the rural development front and a serious situation is fast approaching because of oversights on the part of development strategists.

Thus is the view of a report prepared by the Head of the Economics Department at Kwaluseni Campus, Fien De Vletter, who maintains that the slow progress being made in upgrading life in Swaziland's rural areas may be due to a superficial knowledge of target groups—the rural people themselves.

The 88-page report, commissioned by the Programme for Better Family Living in the Ministry of Agriculture, is entitled "Subsistence farmer, cash cropper or consumer? A socio-economic profile of a sample of Swazi rural homesteads".

Complex

Among the conclusions the report makes, is that the Swazi rural homestead is more complex, socially and economically, than is commonly assumed. De Vletter observes that there is a far stronger link between the so-called "modern" and "traditional" economic sectors with rural homesteads becoming increasingly consumer-orientated rather than self-sufficient.

He forewarns severe unemployment in the future if rural homesteads grow more dependent on the modern sector. Migrant labour is one of the principal causes of this growing dependence with almost one quarter of the sample homestead population absent at any given time.

Migrant labour has had a major impact on agricultural manpower in rural areas, in terms of both depleting the population and bringing in a cash income. In all, the survey found that 82 percent of the homesteads had absentee and resident members earning wages and just under half had more than one wage earner.

Averaged

This shows a definite trend away from self-sufficiency, with the average amount of money received from resident wage earner being £105 per month, while those with absentee earners averaged remittances of £31 a month.

"The subsistence homestead if it in fact ever existed, has become an anachronism," says De Vletter, citing the transfer of wages and goods in kind from the main economic zones as the major source of support for more rural homestead.

This economic connection between modern and traditional sectors is largely overlooked, says the report, although it has serious

implications regarding rural dependence on urban areas. This dependence has the effect of widening the personal income gap between the two sectors.

Territory

According to a study done three years ago, the average urban Swazi earns 10 times as much as his counterpart living on freehold territory or individual tenure farms, who in turn receives two-and-a-half times the income of an inhabitant on communal land or Swazi Nation land.

Although these figures can be misleading because the study didn't take into account migrant labour patterns, it still holds cause for alarm, especially when one looks at the comparative populations of these different sectors. Urban Swazis, who make up 15 percent of the population, are receiving 45 percent of the country's total personal income, while the 62 percent living on Swazi Nation land receive only 18 percent of personal income.

These figures don't account for further income discrepancies, for example, those between expatriates and locals. Rural development programmes often fail to tackle this inequality successfully, says De Vletter.

"Indeed", he says, "rural programmes move often than

not exacerbate income disparities - the very problem they were designed to alleviate." This is because of various entrenched myths about development, maintains the author, and if agricultural production and the standard of life in the rural areas is to be improved, the people in this sector must be "identified, understood and advised according to their needs and resource potential."

Figures

Homestead welfare, however, says Dr. Vetter, is not deteriorating as much as urban and rural growth figures imply. Warning that this should not invite complacency, he emphasises that the relative similarity between urban and rural living standards is an indication of the modern sector's influence.

An interesting aspect of this growing urban influence is that education is being regarded by rural Swazis more as a homestead investment than a social necessity. "Higher levels of education will increase the future returns in the form of remittances to the homestead."

Dr. Vetter finds that there is a shared sense of investment among homestead heads. The most prominent forms are education, crop inputs and cattle.

It is likely, he argues, that there will not only be an increasing demand for education but also a tendency to select fewer homestead members for a better-quality education. Although he admits that this hypothesis needs further investigation, Dr. Vetter suggests that, if rural income-generating activities are attractive such as the small scale sugar farming at Vuvulane, most homesteads will respond positively to government incentives.

This would have the effect of reducing the importance of the modern sector in determining the fate of outlying areas.

Commenting on the survey, in which students spent twelve months interviewing members of 1 100 homesteads, Dr. Vetter told *The Times*: "A lot

of the findings are tentative and will be expounded in a more comprehensive report for the United States Agency for International Development (U.S. Aid) due to be completed by next March.

Investigations into rural homesteads are being funded largely by U.S. Aid. The report itself is part of a project known as the "Swaziland Rural Homestead Survey" which is jointly funded by US Aid, the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation and the Programme for Better Family Living.

Dr. Vetter's recommendations assume that recommendations assume that acceptable rural alternatives to modern sector employment will improve living conditions, change rural attitudes, and held education.

An improvement in rural living conditions will also help stem the tide of migration to urban areas. When respondents were asked by surveyors what they felt were the most important changes necessary in their areas, a fairly consistent pattern emerged.

Water supply was the most pressing problem in 55 percent

of the cases, an attitude predictable by the fact that most rural Swazis draw their water from streams often a long distance away, and that streamwater is felt to be largely responsible for many of the common illnesses suffered by the rural population.

The second major concern was the need for agricultural assistance, a reason given by just over half the respondents. Says Dr. Vetter: "This strong desire for advice contradicts the common belief that traditional rural farmers are obstinate and reluctant to receive counsel." A third need, raised by almost a third of the homesteads, was for improved health services, while one quarter called for better transport and rural systems.

Another demand was for improved education facilities - particularly the expansion of schools, which was deemed

important by just over 20 percent of interviewees.

Although the government is dealing with these problems, the pace is perhaps too slow, says Dr. Vetter. He points out that with strong support implicitly expressed by homestead residents, community resources and interest could be more effectively mobilised.

In fact, the Third National Development Plan expresses a desire for more local participation in development programmes, even to the extent of sharing decision-making.

Population

The author also points out that more research is also needed into the field of population. Swaziland has a population growth rate that her resources cannot keep up with, yet there are still strong benefits for the rural homesteader to have a large family. Children are an integral part of community life, doing numerous chores, and are also guaranteed security for their parents' old age. In addition, birth control is a delicate subject, especially for traditionalists.

Although Dr. Vetter recognises that good work is being done through the "child spacing" programme, he argues that development patterns make it an urgent need for the population issue to be a top national priority.

What Dr. Vetter is calling for amounts to a change of emphasis in development policies which are having little visible effects on upgrading the standard of rural life. His recommendations are geared to be implemented through existing structures and so there is little excuse for delay in considering them.

One thing is clear and that is that development is a process of continued modification, and the danger of policies remaining static has a direct effect on rural people themselves.

Any recommendation or criticism does not lie ignored.

ELECTRICITY BOARD'S EXPANSION PLANS OUTLINED

Mbabane THE TIMES OF SWAZILAND in English 18 Sep 79 p 1

[Text] The Swaziland Electricity Board (SEB) is to embark on an expansion scheme that will double the country's hydroelectric power capacity.

Construction on two proposed power stations will begin in 1980 and they are expected to be in full operation by 1984. The scheme, which is designed to reduce Swaziland's energy dependence on South Africa, will cost around E30 million.

The two stations will provide a total of 28 megawatts, compared to SEB's present capacity of 25MW.

"If we had had that amount available last year Swaziland would have been completely independent in her electricity needs," SEB's General Manager, Mr Ken Thomson, told the Times. Last year Swaziland had to import roughly 40 percent of her electrical power from South Africa at a cost of just under E1.8 million.

However, according to Mr Thomson, increasing demand and a shortage of water for the kingdom's hydroelectric plants, could mean continued dependence on the republic for the foreseeable future.

According to SEB's recently released 17th Annual Report, the year under review was a healthy one with a substantial increase in production due to good rains. The surplus 20 million kwh made in the 1977/78 year will be lost over the next 12 months because of the expected "dry season." The average annual output by SEB is 120 million kwh.

The Annual Report also stated that electricity tariffs will not be increased over the forthcoming year but that a rise in costs would be inevitable during 1980.

Mr Thomson said, however, that the increases would be in line with normal rises in the cost of living and would not be excessive.

At present Swaziland's tariff rate of 2.6 cents per unit is one of the lowest in the world. South Africans pay an average of 4.2 cents for the same amount of power.

On page 5 today there is an in-depth look on SEB's development over the past decade and the Board's proposed expansion.

CSO: 4420

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EXECUTIVE COUNCIL EMERGENCY AID DISTRIBUTION

Kinshasa AZAP in French 1325 GMT 31 Aug 74 RB

[Excerpts] The executive council has already drawn up some emergency measures, among others the carrying out of the Mobutu Plan, to an effort to pull the country out of the economic crisis, national, as well as international, which has deeply shaken it.

In this setting, the executive council this month allocated 7,000 companies and commercial enterprises an emergency aid of 10% (as published) U.S. dollars which should enable them to maintain the existing means of production or to set their activities in order so as to allow the population to become self-sufficient as soon as possible (under no 6% consumer needs are concerned).

...[passage indistinct] yesterday on national television, the state commissioner for national economy, industry and trade, Citizen Kikwenda, Kia Kiziki, answered questions from the audience during a 45-minute talkback directed by Citizen Kitutu Oicantwa, director of Tele-Zaïre.

General Economy

In his introduction, Citizen Kikwenda, answering a question from Citizen Kitutu, said about the general economy that success of nation hinges on establishing a framework or environment in which a company or business establishment must operate. His department's task in this context, he specified, is to insure harmony and balance between these economic agents by seeing and stating where, how and why it is necessary to produce. Zaïre, he said, [as published] the Mobutu Plan is a unit conversion to put order into the Zairian economy, to bring harmony to it and properly order the productive units to serve the country better. It should, he said, enable the nation to find easily, first of all, what the great mass of people usually consumes, and after that to export the surplus in order to bring profit to the country.

Causes of Failure in the National Economy

To be successful an action needs to be set in a specific framework. In this regard, according to Citizen Kiskuma, the country recorded a failure due to the consequences of applying the policy of Zairinization. The businessman assuming the role of profit-making and the consumer preferring to pay less, it was up to the State to limit itself to prompt the action of economic agents and create a framework in which they were to work. For want of that, there simply occurred the failure of the economic agents and the State, he maintained.

How To Succeed

The lack of coordination [word illegible] the different economic agents did not facilitate their output. The same is true of the centralization of the national economy in the capital city and disrespect for moral standards.

To this effect the state commissioner for national economy, industry, and trade pleaded for respect for the teachings of the Guide, Mobutu Sese Seko, on upholding moral standards and the honest implementation of the decentralization of powers, decreed to localize the decision-making bodies, take control measures over what is being administered effectively and see to it that high-level decisions are carried out. Hence the need for cohesion and mutual confidence between the summit and the base where decentralization is concerned.

The chief of the department of economy condemned the shameful machinations of certain civil servants and economic [words illegible] in this context. He pointed out that inasmuch as the country is facing multiple problems, a single body, that is the executive council alone, cannot succeed without the cooperation and the sincere support of each individual. Hence the broad delegation of authority in decentralization matters, so as to enable the representatives of the state to follow [words illegible] actions relating to the country's development, thus bringing the nation out of the crisis.

The Choice of Sectors To Benefit From Emergency Aid

Certain criteria were taken into consideration in the distribution of the executive council's emergency aid, of which 10 million were made available for national defense. First there is the Mbuatu Plan properly speaking. Regarding this, Citizen Kiskuma emphasized the necessity of giving fresh life to the sectors of manufacturing, health, transportation and energy.

In this context the executive council's action is first of all concentrated on food consumption and on a search for spare parts useful to local production resources rather than on investment in order to insure that the local market will be able to meet current demand in its entirety.

This distribution, which does not reflect the quota system, aims to put an end to trouble by producing a great deal locally now and by importing spare parts to help production industries to better meet this objective.

Apart from the criterion of the Mobutu Plan, the executive council also took into account as criteria the effects of training on the other sectors, the installed production capacity and level of investment, the employment level, the value added, the capacity for saving or generating foreign exchange, the capacity for marketing food products and the most necessary trade items, enlarging the fiscal "pie," and participation in the national development effort.

To these criteria the executive council has added a certain number of selection factors, namely: experience in international trade and organizational level, rapidity of supply operations (a criterion included because of its relevance to emergency aid), financing capacity, consolidation rather than scatteration for better control within the framework of economic decentralization.

Disciplinary Actions To Be Taken Against Beneficiary Companies Which May Drift Into Bad Ways

With reference to the above, Citizen Kiakuma announced the setting up of a reception committee which will be expected to follow these companies' actions from the time when the imported goods are received to the time of their consignment [word illegible] to each part of the country to which they are to be sent in accordance with the distribution program. He announced that the time set for them to produce the expected results is, in principle, next September 15.

In answer to a question on the consequences of the devaluation of Zairian currency in this program, he indicated that they are not too good, but where the workman's purchasing power is concerned, he figured that prices increase only when demand exceeds supply.

The state commissioner came back to this question to talk about the production distribution channels which involves the level and policy of pricing. It is still at this level, he affirmed, that speculation prevails. The Department of Economy does not set prices but rather makes them official. It is the producers who set them, he specified. In this regard the profit margin must be respected, and the state's role is to moderate the application of setting prices; hence the need for everybody to participate actively in this problem.

The chief of the department again called for everybody's assistance in respecting official prices. He recognized, however, that the 100 million dollars allocated to beneficiaries did not make it possible to do a complete survey of the great quantity of goods most needed in the country, but that the executive council can, in this setting, put into motion the mechanism which will make it possible to help the country in this area.

Choosing the Countries Which Will Be Suppliers

In answer to a question about the choice of countries to serve as suppliers, the state commissioner pointed out that up to now the executive council has turned to European countries and the United States for purchasing equipment so as to put existing material back into running condition, most of it being of European or American origin.

About the Increase in the Cost of Fuel

Being subject to increases in the price of oil, the State should not be blamed for the increase of salaries in such circumstances.

Citizen Kiakwama said that in this regard there is a gap between the level at which producers increase prices and the one at which the State sets its own. Consequently he pleaded, to begin with, for an improvement in the local production channels because, he indicated, not only does the problem of salaries arise, but rather, and above all, the problem of prices.

In Conclusion

The state commissioner concluded that the success of the national economy will depend on the attitude of the people of Zaire on the whole with respect to Zaire's ills and the measures taken by the authorities to overcome the damage caused by the crisis.

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BANK OF ZAIRE BRANCH ESTABLISHED FOR STABILIZATION PROGRAM

Kinshasa AZAP in French 1252 GMT 3 Sep 79 AB

[Text] The Bank of Zaire has just moved ahead with the establishment within its internal structure of a technical branch called Technical Secretariat - Stabilization Program, in charge of keeping daily watch over all technical aspects of the implementation of the country's stabilization program which the Board of Directors of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has just adopted.

According to the recent edition of MOSOLO, a magazine of the Bank of Zaire, the Technical Secretariat - Stabilization Program will in particular keep an eye on the preparation and regular communication to the IMF of statistical information, reach decisions on carrying out the program and oversee the observance of the various decisions of the program.

The coordination of the activities of the Technical Secretariat - Stabilization Program, a functional branch constituting a specialized body integrated into the Bank's Studies Department, will be insured by Citizen Mambulu Makudia Nsiola, deputy head of the department, under the supervision of the head of the group of advisors to the governor of this financial institution.

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BRIEFS

COUNCIL ON BUDGET, ECONOMY--In his introduction, Citizen Ileo announced that, in order to provide the country with a budget consistent with its possibilities and realities, inquiries will be carried out into some enterprises and departments which supply the greatest part of the state's revenues. These include the Bank of Zaire, BOZACOM [Zairian Company for the Marketing of Ores], OZACAF [Zairian Coffee Office], OZAC [Zairian Control Office], Ministries of Finance, Economy, Commerce and Industries, Portfolio, Environment and Planning. The same inquiries, he added, should be carried out regarding expenditures. They will enable the legislative council to know with some certainty the potential, possible and realizable receipts. Also, they will give a chance to those elected by the people to be fully informed about the production capacity and the output of state services concerned, and to discern their weaknesses and failures. They will certainly have some social impact. We are now facing a continuous foreign exchange shortage. And yet the implementation of the economic recovery program requires the utilization of foreign exchange. What is the Zairian contribution in this area, asked the president of the legislative council, before wondering where were the causes and the basic reasons for the budget deficit which has persisted and may well become chronic. The speaker also mentioned the problem of high cost of living and the excessive prices on the markets. In this connection, he wondered what was the contribution of big stores and industries to the taxes due to the state. [Excerpt] [Kinshasa AZAP in French 1640 GMT 4 Oct 79 AB]

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